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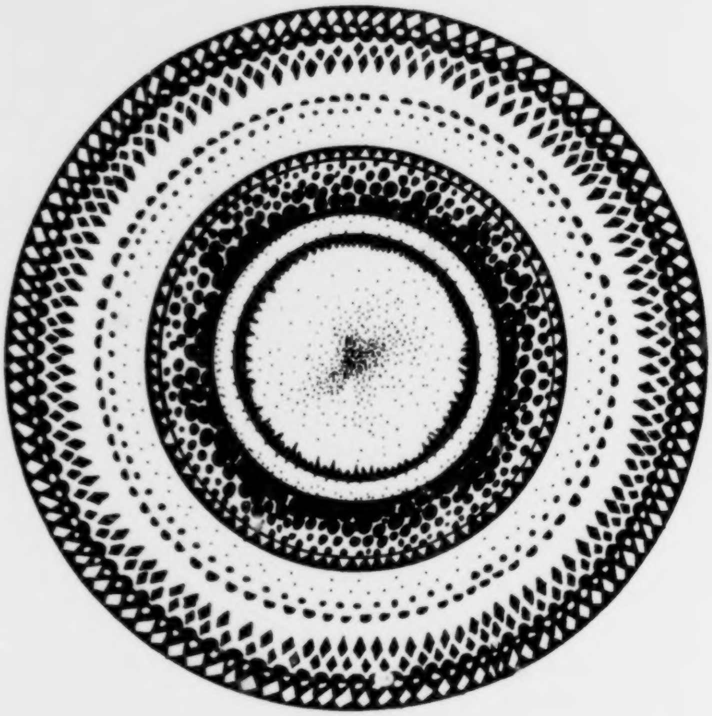
Women and the Industrial Development Decade in Africa



AFRICAN TRAINING AND RESEARCH CENTRE FOR WOMEN

UNITED NATIONS

Economic Commission for Africa

1986

E/ECA/ATRCW/86/05

WOMEN AND THE INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT DECADE IN AFRICA

African Training and Research
Centre for Women

Research Series

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I. INTRODUCTION: WOMEN AND THE INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT DECADE IN AFRICA

by Eleanor R. Fapohunda

Historically, African economies have experienced an inadequate level and an undesirable pattern of industrialization. In 1980, Africa had an industrial sector, concentrated in a few countries, which contributed less than 10 percent to Gross Domestic Product. The pattern of industrialization has been undesirable as the process has failed to bring a structural transformation sufficient to generate long term self-sustained socioeconomic development.

Manufacturing has been limited to a relatively few lines of production, predominantly light industries producing consumer goods for the indigenous urban elite. Some enterprises have also processed, to a limited extent, minerals and agricultural produce for export. This production has utilized imported raw materials, capital equipment and foreign expertise, and therefore has had minimal internal linkage effects. The urban based manufacturing industries have also had limited employment generation effects as the technology embodied in the imported capital equipment was developed for regions with different factor endowments. The capital intensive nature of production has, in addition, been encouraged by government fiscal and trade policies which have artificially distorted factor prices. The necessary scientific, technical and managerial skills to fill the limited number of intermediate and senior level positions generated by these industries has been lacking in the region.

Africa's dependence on imported equipment and machinery has meant not only the use of technologies inappropriate for regional factor endowments, but also has delayed the development of a domestic capacity to generate new techniques which would help satisfy the basic needs of the populace. Such a development of intermediate level technologies has also been constrained by a lack of fiscal capital, appropriate technical and scientific skills as well as nascent indigenous entrepreneurial capabilities.

Although a region rich in natural and human resources, Africa's industrial base has not been oriented towards the production of vital intermediate goods such as fertilizers, cement or steel. The development of such intermediate goods creates significant backward linkages to natural resource bases and generates forward ties to final industrial production, thereby helping to form self sufficient, integrated economies.

As a result of their patterns of industrialization, African economies have experienced structural weaknesses, indirect foreign political influences and internal socioeconomic distress.

Increasingly dependent on foreign economies for manufacturing inputs and export commodity purchases, the region has been adversely affected by fluctuating external price changes causing balance of payments difficulties accompanied by foreign exchange outflows. At times African manufacturing industries, unable to import needed raw materials due to foreign exchange shortages, have been forced to cut back or even stop production and/or retrench workers.

At the 1980 Lagos Economic Summit, African leaders reaffirmed the importance of industrial development as a primary force for economic growth and overall development, but stressed the need in the Lagos Plan of Action for domestic industry to serve both as a supplier of essential inputs to all sectors of the economy and as a user or processor.[1] To focus the attention on the proposed restructuring of African industrial activity, the Lagos Economic Summit of African industrial activity, the Lagos Economic Summit adopted the years 1980-1990 as the Industrial Development Decade for Africa. This decision was reinforced by the Thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly which proclaimed the 1980's as the Industrial Development Decade for Africa.[2]

A. PROGRAMME FOR THE INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT DECADE FOR AFRICA, 1980-1990

The purpose of the United Nations Industrial Development Decade for Africa is to promote the development of industrialized African economies capable of generating internally self-sustained economic development by;

(a) each country adopting a strategy focusing on the promotion of a set of priority industries appropriate to its national resources. These industries are essential to the development of self-reliant economies and to meeting the basic needs of the population. The major priority industrial subsectors are food processing, textiles, forest products, building materials and construction, metallurgical industry, chemical industry and the capital goods industry;

(b) each nation paying special attention to the development and mobilization of the necessary manpower to implement the strategy;

(c) each country generating, in particular, scientific, technological and managerial personnel capable of planning, implementing and operating industrial projects within a suitable time frame;

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[1] United Nations Industrial Development Organization, *A Programme for the Industrial Development Decade for Africa* (New York: United Nations, 1982), p.1.

[2] *Ibid.*, p.1.

(d) each nation making special efforts to develop and utilize local inputs for domestic industry;

(e) each country developing the capabilities and capacities of indigenous industrial entrepreneurs through incentives, training and support institutions.

Fundamentally, the development of a self-reliant African economy involves the mobilization of human knowledge, skills and energy. The Lagos Plan of Action stressed that "since Africa's greatest asset is its human resources, full mobilization and effective utilization of the labour force (men, women and youth, both trained and untrained) for national development and social progress should be a major instrument of development".[3] Women are a distinctive human resource as they are both producers of goods and services and reproducers of future generations. In this context, socially defined roles and norms direct and limit women's income generating activities. Moreover, as industrialization proceeds, the requirements of women's dual roles increasingly come into conflict. Therefore, if the Industrial Development Decade for Africa is to successfully encourage the growth of self-reliant economies it is imperative that planners consider how the skills and energies of women can best be integrated into the industrialization process in both large and small scale enterprises.

From another perspective, the equitable participation of women in the industrialization process is essential to overall development. Two fundamental purposes of development directed industrialization are the provision of basic needs for the general population and the creation of a more egalitarian income distribution. In many African countries, men and women have separate financial responsibilites within their family units. Women are often responsible for a substantial proportion of the basic food and clothing needs of the family. In other countries, women in great numbers are actually household heads due to death, migration or marital disruptions. Wives in polygamous families are often the *de facto* heads as they are primarily responsible for the basic needs of themselves and their children. It is not possible for an African nation to produce a more equitable income distribution or to provide more successfully for basic needs if women are denied full and equal participation in the industrialization process.

The equitable participation of African women in the industrialization process would entail the following:

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[5] Economic Commission for Africa, *Plan of Action for the Implementation of the Monrovia Strategy*, (Lagos, April 1980).

(a) equal access to and participation in formal programmes at different levels in educational and vocational training institutions;

(b) equal access to and participation in adult educational programmes which teach not only literacy, but saleable income generating skills;

(c) equal access to economic resources including land and credit in the small scale sector;

(d) equal participation in decision making and planning processes in enterprises, co-operatives and government ministries;

(e) equal participation in non-traditional female occupations which have high incomes, good promotion possibilities and increasing employment prospects in both the large and small scale industrial sectors;

(f) equal rights to control the rewards of one's labour and equal job security;

(g) equal right to be protected against or compensated for the adverse effects of industrialization including technological displacement;

(h) equal encouragement to form and actively participate in collective organizations including trade unions;

(i) equal priority in the development of technologies that will relieve women's work burden in the home and at the work place;

(j) equal and nondiscriminatory protection of all industrial workers under labour legislation;

(k) equal publicity of women's urban and rural industrial activities in the print and electronic media;

(l) equal availability of gender neutral career guidance information;

(m) the recognition by African countries of the importance of women's dual roles and the provision of extensive social investments to lessen women's contradictory work burdens.

The current world recession has exposed the vulnerability of African economies which have been described as sinking ships operating in the troubled waters of international economic relationships. The current economic dilemma is also showing that is is not enough for those who advocate the fuller utilization of women's resources in the national development process to seek policies to alleviate constraints that inequitably limit women's industrial sector, but rather it is necessary to re-evaluate the potential role of women in the reconstruction of a more self reliant, self sustaining economy.

In developing strategies to encourage African women's equitable participation in the industrial restructuring process, policy makers should not consider women's problems or programmes in isolation, but rather should keep in mind the interrelationships between male and female workers in industrial labour markets in general and in specialized occupational markets. For example, in Africa's undiversified, oversupplied industrial labour markets, male labour is likely to be employed in industries such as textiles which in other regions have been major employers of women. Moreover, under these conditions, employer's discriminatory practices, whether based on inherited colonial prejudices, traditional stereotypes or gender differentiated labour costs are likely to be intensified and become more intractable.

In 1984, the African Training and Research Centre for Women of the Economic Commission for Africa commissioned four case studies to:

(a) Review and appraise African women's participation in the industrialization process in the modern and small enterprise sectors;

(b) Develop recommendations and a plan of action for the participation of women in the Industrial Development Decade for Africa.

The long term aim of the ATRCW/ECA project is to ensure the equitable participation of women in the industrialization process in Africa.

The basis for this volume on Women and the Industrial Development Decade in Africa are the commissioned case studies. The four case studies (Egypt, Nigeria, Republic of Cote d'Ivoire, and the United Republic of Tanzania) were chosen to include two of the most industrialized countries in Africa, Egypt and Nigeria, as well as one of the least industrialized nations, Tanzania. The selection also reflects considerations of regional and linguistic balance. Finally the four countries differ in terms of past industrialization strategies and enterprise ownership patterns.

Each of the four countries has been undergoing industrialization under conditions of economic duress. Those conditions include war, natural disaster, declining as well as fluctuating world agricultural and mineral prices, balance of payments difficulties, rapid population growth and insufficient infrastructural facilities.

B. AFRICAN GOVERNMENT INDUSTRIALIZATION STRATEGIES: THEIR GENERAL IMPLICATIONS FOR WOMEN WORKERS

Basically, African governments have followed either an import substitution or an export oriented industrial development strategy. Countries such as Egypt and Cote d'Ivoire have historically reconsidered and reoriented their industrial development strategies from import substitution to export led development. Both strategies are quite distinct from the self-reliant industrialization strategy of the Industrial Development Decade for Africa Programme.

The import substitution industrial development strategy has been employed in private, mixed and socialist economies. The strategy involves the development of domestic consumer oriented industries which produce products formerly imported for the urban elite. In Africa, these industries have been heavily committed towards the production of food, beverages and tobacco. Basic consumer goods such as clothing, pharmaceuticals and paper have continue to be imported. The import substitution industries, protected by higher tariff walls and encouraged by tax incentives, have high import components, or in other words, are characterized by a small value added. Raw materials, capital equipment with western embodied technology, and spare parts are imported to run these enterprises. Sometimes the domestic markets are too narrow to support these firms. As a result, in countries such as Cote d'Ivoire, the plants and equipment are underutilized, leading to high cost per unit. These domestically produced items are therefore more expensive than imported substitutes.

Generally, such industries have had a limited employment generation effect, particularly for women. These industries have clustered in urban centres close to the source of imported inputs and near their elite consuming public. Most African women, however, live in rural areas. Moreover, the import substitution industries, being capital intensive, do not generate many unskilled or semi-skilled jobs. In the surplus labour markets of Africa, employers often choose to fill the limited low skill jobs with male workers. Import substitution industries require a limited number of highly skilled managerial, scientific and technical personnel. African women generally lack the necessary education and skills to fill these vacancies; instead, expatriate male employees perform these well paid functions. Finally, import substitution industries, promoted and protected by government, have displaced traditional small scale manufactures such as textiles which employed women workers.

An export oriented industrial development strategy involves an African country producing for a competitive international market in order to generate an inflow of products, minerals or undertake consumer oriented manufactures. The development of export oriented agro-processing industries is based on endowed natural resources and the availability of cheap labour. The health of an export oriented agro-processing economy is dependent on the level and stability of world prices and the adequate supply of imported equipment with spare parts. To be competitive in an international market, such industries are encouraged to adopt labour saving techniques in order to produce at higher levels of productivity, thereby reducing per unit costs. As a result, there is an increased demand for semi-skilled or skilled manpower to operate and maintain the machinery. As in the case of Cote d'Ivoire, male labour is therefore predominant in the fruit canning industry. Technology has caused a displacement of women from the traditionally female food processing activities.

The development of export oriented agro-processing industries also alters the traditional division of labour by gender in rural agriculture. To supply these industries, males often specialize in the production of commercial cash crops, leaving the production of subsistence crops entirely to women. Wives find that their work burdens increase as they are indirectly increasing the feasibility of large scale agro-processing enterprises. Money income generated from male cash crop activities does not inevitably lead to an improvement in the basic living standard of family members. Instead, this money may be used for the purchase of items which increase male social prestige and status in the community.

Export oriented manufacturing industries also depend on a cheap labour supply. In contrast to agro-processing industries, such enterprises require imported raw materials. Generally, these industries have rather low levels of capital utilization and depend on female labour to undertake monotonous jobs requiring dexterity, such as electronics assembly. These enterprises compete with firms in other developing areas in terms of product quality and price. Such export oriented manufacturing firms are often owned outright by multinationals or are joint ventures. Women employees usually receive low wages, do not learn transferable skills and may even suffer adverse health consequences from production processes without suitable compensation. The working life of such employees may indeed be shortened.

Since export oriented manufacturing industries produce for external, competitive markets particularly in developed countries, they are extremely vulnerable to recessionary periods, when developed countries increase protectionist policies or impose higher quota restrictions to protect home interests. Sluggish exports lead to production cutbacks and employment retrenchments.

African governments, in pursuing the above two industrialization strategies, have focused their programmes on large scale enterprises. Only within the last decade have a few countries such as Nigeria incorporated specific national small-scale industry development plans. It was thought by planners that with industrialization, the relative economic importance of such enterprises would diminish. Instead it has been discovered that the small-scale enterprise sector has grown in terms of contribution to gross domestic product and employment generation. In the Industrial Development Decade for Africa Programme, it is recognized that such industries are also important for meeting the basic needs of the population, developing a semi-skilled manufacturing labour force and stimulating indigenous entrepreneurial activities. Through subcontracting activities, such enterprises help form the links of an integrated industrial economy.

C. THE STRUCTURE OF THE INDUSTRIAL SECTOR IN AFRICA

The industrial sector in many African countries is dualistic; that is, it is composed of a modern large scale sector and a small scale enterprise sector or "informal sector." These two subsectors differ in term of:

(a) Enterprise and employer characteristics;
(b) The nature of work and working conditions;
(c) Worker characteristics;
(d) The degree of unionization;
(e) Worker legal protection.

The two subsectors are not completely autonomous since raw materials, finished production and labour flow between them. Modern sector workers try at times to accumulate capital and learn skills in large enterprises so that they may in the future become informal sector entrepreneurs. Female modern sector employees, experiencing problems of dual role conflicts, may opt for the more flexible hours and working conditions of the small scale sector.

In the modern sector, workers are employed in large scale capital intensive manufacturing enterprises which may be western or communist bloc multinational subsidiaries, government corporations, indigenous family enterprises or third world multinational subsidiaries. The modern sector manufacturing industries produce goods for the local elite or for export using primarily imported raw materials. Workers in the modern sector are often unionized, relatively highly educated, protected by national labour legislation and enjoy relatively high, stable wages. Employees follow patterns of fixed work days at establishments often far from their residence.

The informal or small business manufacturing sector includes small family manufacturing enterprises, employing 10 or fewer workers, co-operatives as well as individual craftsmen located in urban and rural areas. This sector manufactures goods for the vast low income population using indigenous materials and labour intensive technologies. In contrast to modern sector enterprises, informal sector enterprises are often unregistered, operated by single proprietors and without access to formal capital markets. Most enterprises are financed by personal savings or by relatives. Although small scale enterprises use labour intensive techniques, their labour absorption capacity is limited because of their size. "Modern" informal sector enterprises manufacture goods which may be considered substitutes for those produced in the modern sector, such as wood and metal products. These enterprises usually require a higher capitalization and employ more workers than more traditional informal sector activities.

Most individuals working in the informal sector are self employed or own account workers. Wage earners in this very competitive sector receive low and often irregular incomes. They are not protected by labour legislation nor are they unionized. Many have had limited exposure to the formal educational system, if at all. Some in manufacturing enterprises have undergone apprenticeship training. Likewise, small scale entrepreneurs have limited education and lack fundamental management skills, such as simple accounting. In the informal sector, workers are engaged in longer but more flexible work days. There are more opportunities for casual and part time work.

D. REVIEW AND APPRAISAL OF AFRICAN WOMEN"S PARTICIPATION IN THE INDUSTRIALIZATION PROCESS

1. African Women"s Modern Sector Employment Trends

In all four case studies, women form a small proportion of all modern sector employees. But as women"s education has been rising their participation in the modern sector has been increasing. Generally, more women are employed in the public sector than in the private modern sector. Yet within the public sector a larger percentage of women are employed by the civil service than by profit oriented government corporations. Historically, in countries like Nigeria the rapid expansion of the government sector during the late 1970s had a substantial impact on women"s modern sector activity. It is usually noted that women"s employment generation is particularly encouraged in labour markets experiencing labour shortages due to rapid expansion, male migration, natural disasters or war. In Egypt, despite traditional rural values and Islamic practices, women have entered modern sector employment, particularly the scientific professions, as males engaged in various military operations or migrated to the rich Arab oil countries in search of better remuneration.

African women employed in the modern manufacturing sector are concentrated in a limited number of industries. These are usually light consumer oriented industries such as food processing, pharmaceuticals and electronics. Few women are employed in heavy industries, for example chemicals , petroleum extraction, etc. Some industries which in other regions have been primary employers of women, such as textiles, in African economies, such as Nigeria and Cote d"Ivoire, have primarily hired male workers.

Since African economies are relatively undiversified with small capital goods industries, male workers are forced to compete with female workers for employment. This development is exacerbated by rapid population growth and rural-urban migration trends.

Within the industries covered by the four case study countries, women generally hold low skill, low wage jobs which carry few opportunities for advancement and undertake repetitive work devoid of any decision making powers. For example, within the Nigerian cosmetic industry, a large source of female employment, women label, cap, clean and pack jars. In Tanzania, women are often temporary or casual employees in industry. Some of the women's jobs are related to their traditional family roles. Nurses, cooks and cleaners are often female occupations in manufacturing industries. Since women are clustered in unskilled jobs, their average industrial wages are lower than men's. In addition, many women's industrial jobs are labour intensive activities which eventually will be done by machines as production reaches economically feasible levels. Once the substitution occurs, as the historical experience of the case studies has shown, males will become the machine operators.

In the four case studies, women are systematically excluded from certain job categories because of formal as well as informal barriers to entry. Very few women are managers, especially in multinational corporations, or entrepreneurs in the modern sector. A larger number of women hold senior level scientific and professional jobs although they still represent a very small proportion of those employed in this category. Many of these women are laboratory scientists, in scarce supply, who interact to a limited degree with male workers, or professional accountants. Although a few women hold senior level scientific or professional jobs and many have unskilled jobs in industry, practically none are intermediate level technicians and artisans. The formal barriers which prevent women from entering some of these occupations include lack of educational or technical training, labour laws and training quotas, while informal barriers include customs and religious practices, management and workers' attitudes. Often formal and informal barriers in combination actually exclude women from certain occupational categories. For example, few women have the educational background to be multinational managers, yet few male employees in the four case study countries would be willing to work under a woman, given traditional attitudes of male dominance. Generally in a factory there will be some intermediate level female supervisors if there are significant numbers of female production workers.

Self-imposed discriminatory attitudes also affect women's entry into certain occupations. Few women are intermediate level artisans or technicians as few females choose to attend technical schools or trade centres in order to learn necessary skills. Yet in the four case studies, there is a shortage of technical and scientific manpower, particularly at the intermediate level. As has been pointed out earlier, women's employment potential is greater in occupational labour markets of limited supply.

In instituting any protective legislation for women, government must be concerned with the way proposed changes affect women's various roles of wife, mother and worker. Otherwise such legislation may become a formal barrier to women's income generating activities; government may have to institute compensatory policies. For example, protective labour legislation, which prohibits women's night employment, was instituted in many African countries before women were a significant proportion of the modern labour force. Such measures have prevented women from being employed as continuous process workers, thereby restricting their employment opportunities. In addition, the Ivorian, Nigerian and Tanzanian governments introduced beneficial universal primary education programmes without considering how these programmes would create difficulties for working mothers with small children. Such programmes reduce the number of youths who are prepared to be household helpers. These governments did not consider the child care implications of their policies and did not plan accordingly.

In the four case studies, few women are actively engaged in modern sector trade union activities, an unfortunate trend, as women's wages and working conditions have generally been better in countries having a strong women's trade union wing. Women's trade union strength has, of course, been limited by the small number of modern sector women workers who potentially can be organized. Moreover, in Nigeria, the restructuring of company trade unions into national industrial unions by the government has made it more difficult for women members to have a decisive impact on union policies. Generally, the women's trade union movement has been adversely affected by traditional norms, which relegate women to quiet, submissive roles, the demands of women's domestic responsibilities and the often negative attitude of male trade unionists. For example, at the recent general meeting of the Nigeria Trade Union Congress, male trade unionists voted down a resolution to the constitution that would have provided for a separate women's wing with budgetary control. Under the constitution, there is now only a department for women's trade union activities. Presently, collective bargaining agreements in some African countries contain clauses such as health care provisions, transfer benefits or leave benefits that are prejudicial to women. In Nigeria, a few collective bargaining agreements contain non-discriminatory clauses, and, in terms of actual provisions, are gender "neutral" in the sense that benefits apply equally to both sexes.

Workers in modern sector African industries often expect to start their own informal sector enterprises simultaneously with their modern sector employment or after retirement. Such a practice supplements existing low wages, provides a measure of socioeconomic mobility and increases economic independence. Although women as well as men often have such expectations, women are more disadvantaged in this regard than their male colleagues. Male industrial workers generally receive higher wages and, therefore, can more easily accumulate the necessary capital to start such enterprises. In addition, men often have industrial technical skills which they learned in trade centres or through on-the-job training programmes. Such skills are transferrable to "modern" informal sector enterprises. Women, who for the most part are unskilled labour in the modern manufacturing sector, lack the ability to transfer skills and have less capital to invest in businesses.

2. African women's informal sector employment trends

Most African women, particularly those with limited education, work in either the urban or the rural informal sector. Some, such as the Hausa women of northern Nigeria, may engage in producing handicrafts within the seclusion of the husband's compounds, removed from the public eye and unrecorded by official statistics. Within the informal sector, women undertake a variety of income generating activities, such as commodity trading, food processing or crafts, such as weaving or making pots. In African countries, particularly in rural areas, the type of activity undertaken by women, in terms of the actual product manufactured or the stage of the production process undertaken, is regulated to a degree by custom and tradition. For example, women's involvement in the production of palm oil varies within west African countries in terms of what parts of the process are female responsibilities. Also the distribution of benefits differs by ethnic group. In southwest Nigeria, Yoruba women process the palm oil from fruit gathered by men. They are not entitled to the revenue derived from the sale of the oil, but may take any income accruing from the sale of byproducts.

Although flexible hours and working conditions generally allow mothers working in the informal sector to reconcile more easily the demands of their domestic and work responsibilities, women's informal sector incomes are usually lower and more variable than modern sector industrial remuneration. These women are not entitled to maternity leave or sick leave benefits, nor are they usually unionized. Market women, particularly in West Africa, have strong associations, but informal sector women producers in many African countries usually do not have comparable organizations. In the future, the childcare responsibilities of informal sector women will become an increasing problem as the value of their time increases and as they engage more in manufacturing rather than simple trading activities.

Working women in this sector are usually self employed or own account workers. A greater proportion of men are wage earners and apprentices. As mentioned earlier, "modern" informal sector enterprises which manufacture alternatives to modern sector products generate more employment and usually have more apprentices than traditional activities. Studies, however, are beginning to suggest that there is sex segregation both in the informal as well as in the modern sector. A greater proportion of women are engaged in trading or service oriented activities than in production process enterprises which have higher rates of capitalization. In addition, few women choose to undertake apprenticeship training in such areas as metal work, printing, air conditioning, carpentry or welding. These are traditionally "male" occupations, but there is no evidence that owners would refuse to take female apprentices. Rather women have not sought such opportunities. It is, however, true that parents and peer groups would probably raise objections to such interest. Women entering such training would need strong personalities and would be helped by informal support networks.

The patterns of sex segregation in the informal sector are also developing because men and women have unequal access to capital and raw materials, often because of custom and tradition. For example, Yoruba males in Nigeria traditionally have had more access to land and can use land as collateral for loans or land sale proceeds for investments. *Gari* production, historically, is a female occupation among this ethnic group but as the process has become semi-mechanized, the machines are now principally owned by rural males who set rental rates for women producers. Similarly, in Yoruba towns, catering activities in hotels or restaurants have now become male activities as women lack the necessary capital.

In the future, there is likely to be increased competition between men and women seeking income generating activities in in the informal sector. The limited employment generation capacity of the modern sector will not be able to absorb the rapidly growing youth population which has been exposed to some primary school education. In addition, the modern public and private sectors will not be able to employ the growing numbers of technical school and university graduates. These individuals, both male and female, will increasingly have to develop self employment activities or organize small scale production process enterprises, probably undertaking subcontracting work for the modern sector. In such a highly competitive small scale sector, women will have to be highly motivated, career oriented and willing to experiment with non-traditional work activities.

E. FACTORS AFFECTING WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION IN THE INDUSTRIALIZATION PROCESS

In the four case study countries, socioeconomic factors on both the demand and supply sides of the industrial labour market influence women's participation in the industrialization process. These variables are briefly outlined below.

On the demand side, factors influencing the types and numbers of jobs potentially open to women include: the national industrialization strategy; the number of industries, their scale, technologies, and location; the supply and demand for male labour; labour legislation; recruitment, selection and promotion policies of enterprises and the attitudes of personnel managers and businessmen towards hiring women.

Within some of these variables, certain subfactors need to be considered. The supply and demand for male labour is affected by the occupational distribution of male labour in relation to industrial needs, as well as male migration and educational characteristics.

Recruitment, selection and promotion policies at the enterprise level can be influenced by ethnic traditions or imported sex stereotypes; differential labour costs by sex as a result of maternity leave or absenteeism among other factors; discriminatory attitudes on the part of management and fellow workers; the characteristics of the enterprise union and the provisions of the collective bargaining agreement; and the firm's wage policies. Personnel managers and enterprise owners' attitudes towards hiring women can be affected by social class biases, or previous personal experiences.

On the supply side, that is what women actually desire in terms of employment, causal factors include the social structure; family expectations for girls; women's motivation to enter industrial employment; demands within the nuclear family unit; and the nature of industrial work. Among the elements of social structure affecting the supply of women workers are cultural definitions of appropriate roles for women; the relative status and power of the sexes in society, including their right of access to economic resources and to control income flows; and marriage structure (monogamous vs. polygamous marriage, the importance of the extended family).

Family expectations for girls include the economic and social benefits expected from female children (e.g. responsibilities to aged parents); the relative educational expectations for male and female children; and expectations concerning fertility levels of female children. A number of factors influence women's motivation to enter industrial employment. These include their desire for economic independence; their desire to obtain capital for self-employment; their need to pay family expenses; their achievement orientation; government policy, including the availability of low-cost formal education or vocational training and the advice received from parents, peers and teachers.

Within the nuclear family unit, the availability of women for industrial labour is influenced by the division of labour within the home, including the contribution of their spouses, co-wives, paid helpers and extended family members; the number of and ages of their children; the availability and cost of child care; social infrastructure to promote increased home productivity; and the availability and cost of health facilities. The desire of women to enter industrial employment is influenced by the nature of the work itself, including the location of industries; opportunities for training and advancement; salary levels and fringe benefits; working conditions (including possibilities for part-time work) and attitudes of fellow male workers and management.

F. GENERAL STRATEGIES FOR INCREASING AFRICAN WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION IN THE INDUSTRIALIZATION PROCESS

1. Employment Creation Strategies [4]

Three alternative strategies for creating additional employment for large numbers of women during the Industrial Development Decade for Africa can be envisaged.[5]

a. Strengthening the status quo

Planners identify the industrial subsectors with high concentrations of women and see that additional resources are invested in these particular sectors by directives or incentives depending on the organization of the economy. Such a strategy would tend to perpetuate the clustering of women in low skill, low income jobs with limited promotion possibilities. This approach would continue the marginalization of women workers, although in greater numbers. It would do nothing to expand the horizon of possibilities for women and would perpetuate beliefs of female powerlessness within the total socioeconomic system. The perpetuation of women workers concentrated in a few occupational categories within a small number of industries would also make them vulnerable, in the long run, to technological displacement.

b. Non-traditional female employment strategy

Planners identify areas of specific labour shortage in the traditional sectors. Next, governments encourage the development of women's perception of the suitability of such occupations by organizing gender neutral career guidance programmes and ensure women's equal access to appropriate educational institutions or training programmes. Finally, perhaps in conjunction with a media campaign, employers are encouraged voluntarily to hire suitably trained women applicants. As an alternative, employers may be forced to hire more women as part of a required quota system. The actual policy would be influenced by the structure of the economy, particularly the characteristics of enterprise ownership. In a socialist economy, for example, it would be more feasible to institute a quota project. It is, however, likely that there will be opposition from male workers, particularly when women enter semi-skilled jobs or supervisory positions. Research is needed to understand the types of opposition women will face on entering such occupations and what managerial policies could help alleviate these problems.

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[4] This section draws on the ideas of Dr. Barbara Ibrahim, Ford Foundation, Cairo.

[5] A fourth strategy suggested by G.E.A. Lardner has slightly different objective, that is to increase the strategic importance of women in the core industries during the restructuring exercise. In a situation of scarcity he believes that "...with vision, energy and determination women can steal a considerable march on men by going in for specialization in areas in which lots of African will be required in about 10-15 years time or in which only a relatively small number will be required but will be for critical position(s) in the socioeconomic system." (Mimeo, Arusha, 1984). A basic problem with Lardner's strategy is that the number of women involved will be relatively few. This strategy will not lead to significant integration of women in the industrialization process. The token few will not have enough power and support to alter the general condition of other women.

This employment strategy, not always easy to implement, helps develop a more integrated economy based on a fuller utilization of human resources; it also enlarges the perceived options available to women which probably lead to subtle psychological changes. Such changes may also have significant spillover effects in other areas of women's socioeconomic existence.

c. Women's comparative advantage strategy

This strategy represents a middle ground between the two earlier mentioned alternatives. Planners identify industrial growth sectors and analyze the job descriptions to pinpoint those areas which require "female-appropriate skills." Next, they develop appropriate women's training and/or placement programmes.

The determination of "female-appropriate skills" could be determined on an objective basis, but is more likely to be based on societal perceptions, thereby continuing traditional prejudices. Another problem is that many of the basic and intermediate goods industries to be encouraged during the Industrial Development Decade for Africa do not seem to need socially defined "female-appropriate skills." A fundamental issue is that technology and production equipment can initially be modified, if it is evident that women as well as men will be in the workforce. Once the equipment is in place, the suitability between the sexes may become more limited if it was not considered in the design stage. Basically, this strategy does not threaten the existing industrial order, as the second strategy does, and is somewhat more forward looking than the first alternative.

2. Strategies to reduce gender differentiated labour costs

Employers' discriminatory practices against women employees may, in some cases, be based on objective labour cost differentials by gender. Part of these differentiated costs may be due to governmental regulations, such as maternity leave provisions or prohibited night work, and part may be due to the indirect effects of women's conflicting dual role requirements. Therefore, to promote women's employment planners should consider strategies to reduce gender differentiated labour costs or, alternatively, be able to show employers that higher costs in the long run are set by productivity and turnover differentials. For example, planners might consider whether maternity leave programmes should be redesigned from a social benefit viewpoint to encompass a longer time period and might also reevaluate funding procedures. Perhaps it would be better for employers to make a percentage contribution to a national social security programme for this purpose. This contribution could also try to lower the perceived risks of hiring women by encouraging and financially sponsoring creative pilot projects that deal with women's special needs. For example, flexible work plans, job sharing and company transportation schemes are possible. However, unfortunately, such programmes have been most successful in situations of labour shortages. It is likely that programmes for women that increase employers' fixed costs will be less detrimental to women's employment than those which increase variable production costs.

The higher fixed costs of employing women could be reduced by tax writeoffs. For example, in Egypt employers of 100 or more women were legally required to provide child care facilities, increasing both employers fixed and variable costs. As a consequence, employers substituted male labour for female employees. It would have been a better strategy for the government to require the employers to provide the physical facilities with a tax writeoff compensation and to have unions, voluntary agencies or cooperative associations of women workers finance and run the day care operations.

After considering the benefits and limitations of alternative strategies to increase women's modern sector employment, a fundamental issue still remains. If women, in conjunction with men, are to assume responsibility for and be actively involved in the arduous task of restructuring African economies, what safeguards must be actually built into the process to ensure that once the change has taken place women would participate equitably in the new industrial order? Perhaps in the last analysis the answer is not one of economics or social processes but rather, as in the past, an issue of collective awareness and the political mobilization of women.

G. POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS BASED ON THE FOUR CASE STUDIES FOR INCREASING AFRICAN WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION IN THE INDUSTRIALIZATION PROCESS

1. International agencies

International agencies should:

(a) Undertake projects to detail women's activities in the informal sector with a view to:

- (i) Identifying linkages between the modern sector and the informal sector as industrialization proceeds;
- (ii) Identifying old or new products and processes where women of different educational backgrounds might effectively participate in production;
- (iii) Identifying attitudinal or institutional constraints to women's industrial activities in the informal sector;

(b) Sponsor evaluation studies of the problems women face when undertaking:

- (i) Non-traditional female training programmes in technical schools, universities or as part of apprenticeship programmes;
- (ii) Non-traditional employment in both the modern and informal sectors at different skill levels;

(c) Help develop guidelines, materials and training programmes for counsellors who will engage in gender neutral career guidance programmes;

(d) Help develop and finance print or electronic media programmes in local languages to publicize:

- (i) Women's non-traditional industrial activities in the modern and informal sectors;
- (ii) The value, principles and organization of women's cooperative activities in the small scale enterprise sector;
- (iii) The economic value to the families of educating female children.

(e) Undertake studies to show how alternative work arrangements such as flexible hours, worker benefits and services can increase women workers' productivity and reduce gender differential labour costs;

(f) Undertake projects to evaluate problems of organizing and training women trade unionists, including:

- (i) An evaluation of collecting bargaining agreement provisions as they pertain to women workers;
- (ii) An appraisal of "gender neutral" collective bargaining agreements;
- (iii) An evaluation of the characteristics of labour disputes involving women and their settlement;

(iv) The preparation in simple language of women's trade union educational materials;

(g) Sponsor projects considering the effects of alternative maternity leave programme provisions as well as different funding arrangements;

(h) Undertake projects evaluating the health effects of various modern sector and informal sector industrial processes on women and developing preventative health measures;

(i) Sponsor studies of the image of African women portrayed in imported schools textbooks and in new indigenously produced materials as well as commission writers of French, English and local languages to produce new materials presenting a more positive image of women's non-traditional income generating activities;

(k) Investigate new ways in which women can pool their economic resources to:

- (i) Finance directly industries which promote women's employment generation;
- (ii) Establish new types of financial institutions, i.e. women's banks that would give borrowing preference to women.

2. National governments

National governments should:

(a) Ensure that all industrial development planning documents and programmes explicitly take into account potential contribution and interests of women workers;

(b) Organize a politically visible women's bureau or commission to:

- (i) Make sure that government agencies collect suitable statistics concerning women's income generating activities;

(ii) Act as the advocate of women's interests when government is considering new development strategies, plans and targets;

(iii) Sponsor women's non-traditional income generating demonstration projects in the informal sector;

(iv) Develop seminars for women students and workers on positive work attitudes and training opportunities;

(v) Encourage government ministries, public and private corporations to hire women in non-traditional jobs;

(c) Reconsider protective labour legislation and its effects in terms of employment generation;

(d) Introduce fiscal policies to encourage women's modern sector industrial employment, for example:

(i) Tax relief to working mothers for child care expenses;

(ii) Tax writeoffs for employers who provide fixed costs for child care facilities;

(e) Show as major modern sector employers, public willingness to hire women in non-traditional jobs, perhaps, by instituting short-term women's employment quotas;

(f) Develop and implement career guidance programmes for primary and secondary female students through ministries of education and with the assistance of the women's commissions in order to:

(i) Emphasize the social realities of women's economic responsibilities within family units;

(ii) Develop positive work attitudes;

(iii) Encourage women to prepare for non-traditional occupations in both the modern and informal sectors.

(g) Ensure through their ministries of education, that the subject combinations offered to girls reflect the types of job opportunities that exist, or are to be created, in the country and not the sex based roles that women are expected to perform;

(h) Not establish separate vocational training centres for male and female students with different courses of study. Optimally, such institutions should be in such number and geographically dispersed so that all students could be day pupils. Financial incentives or bursaries should be given to females undertaking non-traditional courses of study;

(j) Provide functional literacy programmes for adult rural and urban women with reading modules that provide functional information about:

- (i) Women's income-generating activities;
- (ii) Women's cooperative organization;
- (iii) Extension advice, etc.

(k) Simplify procedures for registering small scale business and co-operatives;

(l) Establish a voluntary programme for retired school teachers, government functionaries and businessmen to:

- (i) Provide career guidance for youth;
- (ii) Help develop the skills of informal sector entrepreneurs;
- (iii) Aid the women's bureau in setting up women's income generating demonstration projects.

(m) Develop programmes to increase the entrepreneurial skills of small scale women entrepreneurs. Such women should be assisted in preparing feasibility studies and project proposals, securing access to credit;

(n) Encourage the formation of unions of female small scale entrepreneurs in the informal sector and provide technical assistance for the setting up of revolving credit schemes;

(o) Encourage the development of appropriate technologies that increase women's productivity in the home and work place with:

- (i) A women's bureau member being consulted before instituting any new technical project that would affect women, in order to consider its socioeconomic effects;
- (ii) Special prizes being offered for the development of economically feasible technologies;

(p) Prohibit job vacancy advertisements by sex and instead require non-discriminatory statements;

(q) License and regulate all nursery schools and day care centres and provide training courses for licensed child care attendants;

(r) Give subventions to voluntary agencies to subsidize the cost of training programmes for female school leavers that provide them with saleable non-traditional skills;

(s) Expand family planning programmes so women workers can more judiciously space their maternity leave requests.

3. Voluntary agencies

Voluntary agencies should:

(a) Undertake demonstration projects to introduce simple appropriate technologies to rural areas that will ease women's work burdens;

(b) Provide scholarships or bursaries for women to study in scientific or technological fields;

(c) Be encouraged to help develop child care facilities. Employers should not be forced to provide such facilities, but rather should be encouraged by tax incentives;

(d) Actively engage in programmes to enroll young educated women with potential economic power into voluntary associations in order to develop networks of women's support systems, particularly in the modern industrial sector;

(e) Through associations of women lawyers:

- (i) Challenge in court laws or administrative practices in the public and private sectors that discriminate against women;
- (ii) Provide advice about "gender neutral" collective bargaining agreements.

(f) Use their potential economic power to force the private media to present a more positive picture of women's income generating activities by advertising or threatening to withdraw patronage;

(g) Set up training programmes for female school leavers to provide them with saleable non-traditional skills.

II. EGYPT: ISLAM, WOMEN'S INDUSTRIAL WORK PATTERNS AND MALE LABOUR SHORTAGES

by Etimad Mohammad Allam

INTRODUCTION

Recent research in the field of women and industrialization in developing countries indicates that industrialization has had a negative impact on women. There are, however, few analytical studies on African women and the industrialization process. Therefore, the African Training and Research Centre for Women of the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa commissioned studies on African women's participation in industrial development. This chapter contributes by giving a picture of the participation of women in the industrialization process of the Arab Republic of Egypt.

The study is divided into three parts. The first deals with the macro level issues including: patterns of industrialization and industrial policy; factors affecting the participation of women in industrialization; characteristics of women's labour force participation; and patterns of women's industrial employment.

The second part deals with enterprise issues including: women as industrial entrepreneurs and managers; consequences of industrial ownership pattern on women; women's trade union activities; and women's work behavior.

Part three provides general conclusions about women's participation in the industrialization process.

Part One: MACRO LEVEL ISSUES

A. PATTERNS OF INDUSTRIALIZATION AND INDUSTRIAL POLICY

1. Historical background

For more than 25 centuries, Egypt was ruled by foreigners. Modern Egypt dates from the French invasion led by Napoleon Bonaparte in 1798. 1 Napoleon's *Commission des Arts* discovered that primary industries already existed in the villages, namely linen cloth, pottery, vegetable oil pressing, alcohol products, perfumes and sugar. During their stay (1798-1801) the French erected factories in Cairo for gunpowder, beer, hats and leather. All were intended to supply the occupation troops.

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1 A.E. Croychley, *The Economic development of modern Egypt* (New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1938). p.1.

The French evacuation in 1801 caused an immediate struggle among competing groups to control the country; from this struggle Mohammed Ali emerged as Egypt's ruler. He had come to Egypt in 1801 as a young officer with the Albanian detachment in the Turkish expeditionary force against the French. 2 Mohammed Ali's regime emphasized industrial development and introduced factory-based industry. His first major step was to establish a government monopoly over certain existing craft guilds beginning with the textile industry. He also devoted attention to the traditional sugar industry by setting up a sugar factory near Minya in 1818; shortly afterwards two other factories were erected, one for making glass and the other for transforming raw materials such as chemicals. 3 During this period, some Europeans also erected factories in Egypt; for example, a textile and paper factory was opened by Italian merchants in 1834.

Mohammed Ali's industrial policies were intended to support his army and administration. By the end of his rule, industry had begun to decline and Egypt became a colonial agricultural economy for decades. Some of Mohammed Ali's factories were liquidated and sold to foreigners by his successors and native capitalists were discouraged. 4

The British occupation period (1882-1956) was marked by the promotion of private manufacturing enterprise with the government concentrating on irrigation and transportation. 5 During this period, industry consisted of traditional crafts and industries based on agricultural raw materials (cotton ginning, sugar crushing and refining).

After World War I, three important developments affected the Egyptian economy. First, the Great Depression adversely affected Egypt's cotton exports and emphasized the dangers of an economy relying exclusively on one source of wealth. The second was the emergence of national enterprise. Bank Misr, established

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2 P.J. Vatikiotis, The_History_of_Egypt_from_Mohammed_Ali_to Sadat (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1980), p. 59.

3 K.M. Barbour, The_growth,_location_and_structure_of_industry in_Egypt, (London: Praeger Publishers, 1972), p. 35; J. Mazuel, Le_sucre__en_Egypte (Cairo, Publications_de_la_Societe_Royale de_Geographie_d'Egypte, 1937, pp. 30-31; N. Fahmy, La Revolution_de_l'industrie_en_Egypte_et_ses_consequences_sociales, 1800-1850 (Leiden: Brill, 1954), pp. 47-48.

4 Abdalla A. Hanafy, "A model of social change: the Egyptian Experience, (1952-67)," l'Egypte_Contemporaine,_LXIIeme_annee (Janvier 1976), p. 12; Amos Perlmutter, "Egypt and the myth of the new middle class: a comparative analysis," Comparative Studies_in_Society_and_History (October 1967), p. 51.

5 Barbour, Industry_in_Egypt, p. 53

in 1920, was the institutional expression of this development. The bank began its programme of industrial development on a modest scale in traditional fields, but by 1940, the Misr group included 21 affiliated companies in fields such as textiles, building materials, fisheries, air and maritime transport, insurance, tourism, mining and pharmaceuticals. 6 The third development which characterized the inter-war period was the change in government policies toward local industry. The government began to provide protection and credit facilities to emerging industries. The major achievement was the 1930 tariff reform which provided some protection for infant industries. 7

A systematic drive for national economic development, with an emphasis on the industrial sector, was launched in 1952. Government machinery was set up for planning and erecting development projects. In 1952, the Permanent Council for National Production was established to study the feasibility of development projects. Under the Presidency of Gamal Abdel Nasser (1954-1970) Egypt made considerable industrial progress. In 1950, industry contributed 21 percent to the total national output; by 1970 that figure had increased to 38 percent. 8 Nasser changed Egypt"s economy from a basically free enterprise system to one in which key production decisions and nearly all investment decisions were made by the state. Major corporations were set up for mining, foodstuffs, textiles, chemicals, building materials, metals, engineering, petroleum and small industries. 9

In 1957, the state decided to speed up industrialization by adopting a five-year plan. In the meantime, it was decided to develop the economy according to a general plan. Therefore, the industrial five-year plan was shortened to three years, and, beginning in 1960, the industrial sector was incorporated in the 10-year general plan for social and economic development.10 It should be noted that during this period the government concentrated on producers" goods and heavy industries.

In 1956, the Suez Crisis created severe shortages of imported goods and Government encouraged production in order to

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6 Robert Mabro and Egypt 1939-1973: policy and performance (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976), p. 28; Barbour, Industry_in Egypt, p. 61.

7 Mabro and Radwan, Industrialization, p. 76.

8 William R. Baker, Egypt"s_uncertain_revolution_under_Nasser and_Sadat (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1978), p. 178; Magdi El-Kammash, The_Economic_Development_of_Egypt (New York: Frederick Praeger, 1968), p. 193

9 Ibid., pp. 176, 193.

10 El-Kammash, Economic_development, p. 194.

ease supply difficulties. Consequently several industries were introduced, such as the production of electric bulbs, radios, cables and tubes and spare parts. Other industries expanded including the production of batteries, super-phosphates, medicine, and processed foods; petroleum refining; textile manufacturing; and electricity generation.[11]

From 1957 to 1961, several industrial projects developed under state control; these included the manufacture of bicycles, sewing machines and radios. A petrochemical industry was developed by an Italian firm and the Fiat Company built a plant for assembling Fiat cars. An expanded textile industry remained the most important one in the country. Other industries, such as cement, manganese, paper and cardboard, beverages and food processing continued to expand. As a result, industrial production experienced a substantial increase in this period.[12] However, the 1967 war with Israel was a grave blow to Nasser's economic policies because of the Suez Canal closure and the loss of oil fields.

Generally, before 1973, sporadic attempts to encourage private foreign investment were largely unsuccessful except in two sectors: pharmaceuticals and petroleum. Three foreign pharmaceutical firms had been engaged in joint ventures with the government since the beginning of the 1960s. A number of petroleum companies, mainly Italian and American, had participated in the public sector projects.[13]

To improve economic conditions Anwar Sadat, who came to power in 1970, instituted the "open door" policy. This policy restricted the socialism of Nasser. However, the core of the public sector - banking, finance, international trade, transportation and manufacturing, - was not to be returned to private enterprise. Basically, the "open door" policy viewed the public sector as a means of support for the private sector. The purpose of this new policy was to attract investment funds from the West and from Middle Eastern oil producers.[14]

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[11] United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, *Economic Developments in the Middle East 1957-58, Supplement to World Economic Survey*, 1958 (New York: United Nations 1959), p. 16.

[12] United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, *Economic Developments in the Middle East, 1959-61, Supplement to World Economic Survey*, 1961 (New York: United Nations, 1962), pp. 41-42.

[13] Mabro and Radwan, *Industrialization*, pp. 68-69.

[14] Michael R. Burrell and Abbas Kelidar, *Egypt: the dilemmas of a nation, 1970-1977* (London, Beverly Hills, 1977), pp. 21-23; Baker, *Uncertain revolution*, pp. 192-193.

Under the programme, new companies set up in Egypt with government approval were exempted from taxes for the first five years of operation. Afterwards, an additional three years exemption was given to those companies still operating. Projects in the free zones exempted totally from Egyptian profit taxes, and their foreign employees were not required to pay income tax to Egypt. Finally, Article 7 of Law 43 provided explicit guarantees to the new investors that their projects would not be nationalized.[15]

Industrial growth rates during the period of the "open door" policy were much higher than before. The annual average growth rate in industrial income amounted to 11 per cent between 1974 and 1978. In contrast, during the 1950s and the first half of the 1960s, the rate was an average of 7 per cent annually. But this aggregate growth in the industrial sector was misleading. On the one hand, the statistics on industrial production included oil output,[16] which had greatly increased during the "open door" years, but on the other hand, part of the increase in industrial production was due to the utilization of idle capacity of existing factories which previously were not operating at full capacity due to foreign currency shortages.

In analyzing the achievements of industry under the "open door" policy it would be useful to consider the evolving characteristics of industrial production. It is clear from Table 1 that the production of many essential commodities, necessary to meet the basic needs of the public, declined considerably during the period from 1973 to 1978, while the rate of increase in some others was modest. As for luxury commodities, the rate of growth during the same period ranged from a minimum of 137 per cent in the case of mineral waters to a maximum of 777 per cent for washing machines. It is important to note that in many of the industries which show a high growth rate, the local production was confined to packing and wrapping, as in the cosmetics and mineral water industries, or to the assembling of imported parts, as in the automobile industry.

The "open door" period was also characterized by the absence of protection for local industrial products. Despite the huge accumulation of local products produced by the public sector in stores, the door remained open for the importation of similar imported competitive commodities.

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[15] *Ibid.*, pp. 192-193.

[16] Mohyi Zeitoun, "Economic growth and its pattern" in *The Open Door: Roots, Harvest and Future*, Gouda Abdel Khalek, (Cairo: Arab Centre For Research and Publications, 1982), pp. 142-145.

Table 1

Growth rates in the production of some Egyptian industrial commodities, 1973-79

Essential commodities	Sugar	White cheese	Cotton textiles	Redbricks	Iron bars	Cement	Kerosene
Average per cent	-6	-16	-16	-60	+12	-25	+43
Luxury commodities	Soda water	Air conditioners	Refrigerators	Washing machines	TV sets	Cars	Cosmetics
Average per cent	+137	+413	+274	+777	+276	+147	+211

Source: The Central Agency for Public Mobilization and Statistics, the Annual_Statistics_Book_and_Statistical Indicators.__Various_issues. Quoted in Mohyi Zeitoun, "Economic Growth and its Pattern" in The_Open_Door_Roots: Harvest_and_Future, Ed. by Gouda Abdel Khalek (Cairo, Arab Centre for Research and Publication, 1982), p. 143.

Employment generation was one of the basic aims of the "open door" policy, yet local jobs created by investment projects which started production up to 30 June 1977, and for which there are available statistics, totalled only 6,126; of these, 3,283 jobs were in manufacturing.17

2. Industrial_relations

Egyptian industrial relations are controlled by the state. There are two main employer organizations in Egypt: the Federation of Industries and the Chamber of Commerce. In 1953, the Government made membership in the Federation of Industries compulsory for all but the smallest firms and imposed government control on it. This control was extended in 1958 by giving the federation the responsibility for applying national industrial policies to its members. Since 1973, there has been a trend towards more autonomy for the federation. At the time of this study, industrial chambers were affiliated to the federation. The Chambers of Industry membership consisted of all industrial enterprises capitalized at LE 5.000 or more, or employing no less than 25 workers. The number of enterprises satisfying these conditions was about 7,000 including 305 public sector enterprises

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[17] Rahman M. Abdel, "The side effects of foreign investments," Al-Ahram_Al_Ektisad, No. 800, 14 May 1984), p. 14.

and most private sector enterprises.18 The Federation safeguards the common interests of industrialists, assists the Government in outlining and giving effect to national industrial policies, and expresses its opinion on legislation and regulations pertaining to industry.19

In 1953, more than 900 unions were reported to have about 270,000 members. After that date, unions were given more status, but at the same time were controlled by Government. Membership grew and unions were consolidated under general industrial unions. Under Nasser, trade unions grew in influence and status, but had little scope for independent action. In the 1970s, under Sadat, unions became more independent, especially after the Law of the Trade Union was passed in 1976. Election of officers by the rank and file, as provided by the law, resulted in a new leadership, separated from the Arab Socialist Union, in many of the general unions.

Government normally sets wages for the public sector. The minimum wage rate for the private sector is usually higher than that in the public sector. In the 1970s, private sector unions engaged more successfully in collective bargaining on wages and work conditions while in the public sector, Government limited the scope of collective bargaining. In both private and public sectors, unions have been concerned primarily with protecting members' jobs and living standards during a rapid inflationary period.20

3. Location of Industries

Most industries are located in urban and suburban areas. About 47.5 per cent of the factories are located in greater Cairo, and 18.8 per cent are situated in Alexandria. Almost two thirds of all industrial establishments are located in these two cities. These enterprises employ more than 49 per cent of the industrial workers in the country.21

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18 A. Gazarin, "Role of Federation of Egyptian Industries in Developing Small-Scale Industries," Paper presented at the World Assembly of Small and Medium Industries, Cairo (May, 1984), p.3.

19 Ibid.

20 Ibid.

21 Barbour, Industry in Egypt, p. 193.

B. FACTORS AFFECTING WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION IN THE INDUSTRIALIZATION PROCESS

1. Historical development of women's industrial participation

Egypt has a long history of productive processing activities, yet there is little historical mention of women's roles in these activities. Under Ottoman rule, Egyptian women suffered a loss in rights and personal freedom; for example, they were prohibited from entering shops, going to public places or accompanying their fathers or sons on the streets.[22] Schools during this era were religiously oriented; their students were only males. *Al-Azhar*, the ancient Islamic university, did not accept female students. Women from lower classes were admitted to *Kuttab*, a day school where they were taught only the Koran and literacy, while the women from upper classes had private tutors at home to prepare them essentially for marriage and motherhood.[23] No available records indicate that Egyptian women were economically active outside home during the Ottoman era. Rather, they worked as unpaid family workers, along with male family members, in the cultivation of family holdings.[24]

In the 1820s and 1830s, Mohammed Ali attempted to build a modern industrial infrastructure and to train Egyptians to replace the foreign staff of the various technical schools that he had founded.[25] During this period, Egyptian women had the right to be vocationally trained. In 1832, a vocational school for training female midwives was founded. In 1873 and in 1875, the Government built two public European oriented primary schools which by 1900 admitted female students. The need for nurses during this military regime also gave women an opportunity to enter this occupation.

Significantly, the shortage of male labour during Mohammed Ali's era, due to recruitment for military service, encouraged women's entrance into the industrial labour force. For example, women comprised about one third of the workers in the Fuwwa fez factory. Women were generally engaged in spinning, carding, bleaching and weaving yarn, stripping sugar cane, sorting tobacco leaves or packaging in the cigarette industry. They received lower wages than men.[26] During Mohammed Ali's era, textile production and agro-industry were controlled by the Government. The spinners and weavers were forced to purchase raw materials from the Government and sell the finished products back to the Government at a fixed price.[27] The state established factories which employed both men and women and the role of women was thus changed from that of small-scale home producers to large-scale producer in the state factories. Both men and women had the same conditions of employment in the factories.[28]

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[22] A. Smock and N. Youssef, "The Changing Roles and Status of Women in Egypt," (Unpublished paper), p.9.

[23] *Ibid.*, p. 11

[24] E. Sullivan, "Women and Work in Egypt," *Cairo Papers in Social Sciences*, Vol. IV (December, 1981), p.8.

[25] C. Moore, *Image of Development: Egyptian Engineers in Search of Industry* (Cambridge: M.I.T. Press, 1980), p.5.

Before British occupation, female industrial participation was limited to a few state factories (textiles, caps, cigarettes) in which women were assigned to the so-called "traditional feminine tasks," such as carding and spinning.[29] During the British occupation until the outbreak of World War I, Egypt specialized in a single crop - cotton. Industrial activity was confined to investments in public utilities and a few light industries. At this time, women worked in the sugar industry, in cotton mills and in cigarette manufacturing but the majority of employed women were engaged in the textile industry. After World War I, textiles continued to be Egypt's major industry and women continued to be actively involved. In 1914, employed women comprised 5 per cent of the total labour force in industry and construction.[30] Initially, female participation in the industry increased. However, as work became increasingly mechanized, female labour was gradually replaced by trained men. By 1952 female participation in the industrial sector was low.[31] Women's employment declined even further between 1966 and 1973 because of the June 1967 military defeat and the demobilization of the army.

2. Labour legislation and women's industrial participation

Until 1933, Egyptian working women faced the same obligations and working conditions as men. However, Law No. 80 of 1933 was enacted to regulate female employment as follows:

(a) It fixed the maximum working hours for women at nine per day and included one or more rest periods during the day;

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[26] M. Hamman, "Women and the Industrial World in Egypt: The Chubra El-Kheima Case," *ASQ* (II, 1, 1977).

[27] Sullivan, *Women and work*, p. 7.

[28] *Ibid.*, p. 8.; Hamman *Chubra El-Kheima*, p. 51.

[29] Sullivan, *Women and work*, p. 8.

[30] Hamman, *Chubra El-Kheima*, pp. 54-55.

[31] Sullivan, *Women and work*, p. 9.

(b) It prohibited night work for women except those working in cinemas, hotels, theatres and in industries dealing with highly perishable goods;

(c) It prohibited the employment of women in hazardous occupations.

The above protective labour legislation, which was passed to aid working women has tended to reduce the size of the female industrial labour force.[32]

At the time of this report, female employment was governed by Law 91 of 1959. Although Article 130 of this law prohibits discrimination based on sex, Article 132 prohibits women from engaging in jobs physically or morally detrimental to them. Articles 133-135 deal with the treatment of female workers during pregnancy, and women receive 50 days maternity leave with 75 per cent of their salary. In 1981, Labour Legislation No. 137 increased this to full pay and forbade a woman's dismissal during maternity leave. Article 139 of Law 91 obligates employers having 100 females or more in one location to establish a nursery. Working women also gained additional benefits from Law No. 137 which allows two breaks of 30 minutes each for nursing mothers during working hours for a period of 18 months after delivery. Women have the right to take the two periods together.

In addition, in enterprises employing 50 females or more, women have the right to take unpaid maternity leave for one year three times during their full working life for the purpose of childrearing.

Generally, most industrial legislation in Egypt was adopted from highly industrialized countries and some is, therefore, inadequate to cope with Egyptian culture. For example, under law, women receive equal pay for equal jobs and experience equality of opportunity both in recruitment and/or promotion in both the public and private sectors. Yet women's access to higher echelons of the industrial occupations structures is still very limited. This situation may be explained in terms of Egyptian culture; Egyptian male oppose being supervised by females and, surprisingly, even females themselves support such an attitude. Moreover, women's legal benefits adversely affect their industrial labour force participation especially in the private sector. Some employers refuse to recruit females because of the legislation or set forth conditions on their employment, such as dismisssal, after marriage. The application of Article 139 of Law 91, which obligates employers having 100 female employees or more in one location to establish a nursery, has caused dissatisfaction among employers and female workers because of the following:

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[32] Aziza Hussein, Report_on_Egypt, Regional Conference on Education, Vocational Training and Work Opportunities for Girls and Women in African Countries: (Addis Ababa: Economic Commission for Africa, 1972).

(a) In an enterprise employing fewer than 100 females, working mothers do not have any special facilities;

(b) Because some employers must establish a nursery for their employees, while others are not obligated to do so, their labour costs are different;

(c) Some employers, to avoid the legal requirement, hire fewer than 100 females. Such a procedure reduces females' industrial employment;

(d) Though several nurseries were established in different factories, some working mothers were unable to bring their preschool children because of transportation difficulties.

It has been suggested that nurseries be established in different districts by the efforts of both citizens and employers within the limitation of the law.33

3. Socio-cultural and economic factors affecting women's participation in industrialization

In 1976, women workers represented only 9.2 per cent of the total female population. Socio-cultural factors help explain women's limited work commitment.

At the societal level, despite differences between traditional rural and modern urban culture, there are certain commonly held values which tend to limit women's industrial activities. First is the organization of the Egyptian family and kinship system. Second is the code of male honour. As Youssef and Smock have explained:

> This "honour" is realized critically and importantly through the chaste and discrete sexual behaviour of womenfolk, in a particular man's life. Such principles of honour are at the highest level of cultural valuation. The code of male honour simultaneously specifies that a man can assert and verify his masculinity only through sexual power and domination over women. A sort of sexual segregation exists in most schools,

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33 Ibrahim Hanbel, "The Effects of Working Mothers," a paper presented at the Maternity Seminar held by the Egyptian Ministry of Social Affairs, Public Administration of Family Childhood, (March 1982).

> although there are some coeducational schools in both rural and urban areas, in the labour market, and informal separation of the sexes in most recreational and often familial activities.[34]

Thirdly, as illegitimacy has always been considered a threat to the family system, a heavier burden of moral responsibility has been placed on women than on men.[35] It is also thought desirable to minimize the interaction between the sexes. Fourthly, there is an unequal sexual division of labour within families. Societal factors which discourage women's work activities outside the home are strengthened by women's lack of confidence in themselves. Indeed, this lack of confidence is historically related to traditional values and norms.

A related institutional factor which indirectly affects women's participation in the labour market is the 1971 Constitution. Section 2, Article 11 of the Constitution states that, "the State shall be responsible for maintaining the balance between women's duties toward the family and her activity in society, as well as for maintaining her equality with man in the field of political, social, economical and cultural life, without detriment to the laws of Islamic *Shar'ia*. The effect of such an article is really a call to working wives, especially professionals, to go back to the home.

Historically, female participation in wage employment was due to economic factors. Socially, such participation was considered demeaning and dependent upon a delicate balance between income and honour. Atif explains: ". . .nonetheless, income, a basic to survival, was attributed to males whereas honour, a basic to societal membership and functioning, depended on females."[36] Because of the impact of nineteenth century western capitalism, Egypt became a supplier of cotton to the world market and a sweeping transformation occurred in her agrarian economy. Large numbers of smaller landowners and tenant farmers were forced off the land and migrated to the cities; they and their families represented the nucleus of the urban petite bourgeoisie.

Later, early twentieth century capitalism caused huge differences in wealth between the upper and other social classes which lead to:

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[34] Smock and Youssef, *Changing roles*, pp. 14-16.

[35] Aziza Huss in, "The Role of Women in the Arab World," WFUNA/ISMUN (1974), p.4

[36] Nadia Atif, *The context of women's work: employment, fertility development and the seven roles of women* (Cairo: The Centre for Egyptian Civilization Studies, 1981), p. 18.

(a) The wife of an artisan or small merchant participating directly in the production of goods and services;

(b) The wife of a civil servant participating only indirectly in the economy by reproducing the labour power of her husband and children. In other words, there was a form of exchange value between the wife and her husband and children. Generally, women became more isolated from production, from men, and even from each other.[37]

Generally, the entry of the majority of women in the labour force has been due to economic deprivation created by male inability to meet rising costs of living.[38] Hamman, in her study of textile workers of Chubra El-Kheima, indicates that every female worker interviewed, married, single, or divorced, stated that the singular reason for seeking employment at the factory was the economic insolvency of her household. It would be impossible for the family to make ends meet without her earnings.[39]

However, during the early twentieth century, a feminist movement started among upper class ecucated women. These women were quite well integrated into the economic life of their quarter. They were able to move easily between work at home and work outside, sometimes even working in the same jobs (butcher, vendor) as men.[40] Such women, in contact with foreign cultural ideas, have been a minority among Egyptian women.

4. Education_and_Women's_Work

Government educational and employment policies are key factors influencing available career choices for women.

(a) Formal_educational_programmes

Before 1952, educational programmes for women were marked by a conservative policy which was initiated in the late nineteenth century. As a result, the female illiteracy rate was 91.3 per cent in 1952. The female primary school enrolment rate was only 36 per cent; women's secondary school enrolment was 19 per cent and at the tertiary level, 7 per cent.[41]

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[37] J. Gran, "Impact of the World Market on Egyptian Women," MERIP_Reports No. 58 (June 1977), p.4.

[38] Atif, Context_of_women's_work, p. 64.

[39] M. Hammam, "Egypt's working Women: Textile Workers of Chubra El-Kheima," MERIP_Reports No.82 (Nov. 1979), p.5.

[40] Gran, Impact_of_world_market, p.4.

[41] Kathleen Howard-Merriam, "Women, Education, and the Professions in Egypt," Comparative_Education_Review, 23 (June, 1979), p. 257.

A primary goal of the 1952 military regime was to improve the living conditions of peasants. The regime therefore paid great attention to the expansion of the educational system. In 1947, only 7.7 per cent of rural women and 28.8 per cent of rural men were literate.[42] The Egyptian education policy guaranteed the right of every citizen, irrespective of sex, to free education at all stages according to talents and abilities. Compulsory education for all children was introduced and later expanded from six to nine years of school.

This policy was part of a general economic and social reform programme rather than a policy showing particular concern for women's rights.[43] As a result, the female literacy rate increased from 12 per cent (1947) to 16.2 per cent (1975/76). The percentage of women with primary and intermediate level education increased from 0.8 in 1947 to 11.6 in 1976, while that of women with higher certificates or third level diplomas rose from 0.5 in 1947 to 1.2 in 1976. The female enrolment rate increased from 52 per cent in 1960 to 55 per cent in 1974 at the primary level, from 9 per cent to a remarkable 28 per cent at the secondary level, and from 1.7 to 7.4 per cent at the third level.[44] There has been a considerable improvement in the degree of literacy among males and females in urban areas and among rural males due to the free education system. However, the literacy rate among rural women has barely changed. In 1957, only 7.7 per cent of rural women were literate, compared with 7.0 per cent in 1947.[45]

As newly created industries require educated workers, the participation of educated women workers in the industrial labour force has increased. Statistically, education is one of the most effective factors influencing female labour force participation, for example, the economic activity rate for illiterate females was 4.8 per cent in 1966, whereas it was more than 27 per cent for females with intermediate education and for university graduates it was slightly less than 75 per cent.[46] This positive relationship between the level of education and female participation in the labour force is noted in both rural and urban areas.

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[42] El-Kammash, Economic development, p. 116.

[43] Howard-Merriam, Women, education and professions, p. 258.

[44] Central Agency for Public Mobilization and Statistics, The Egyptian Women in two decades 1952-1972, Population and Research Studies Centre (January, 1974), p. 28; Central Agency for Public Mobilization and Statistics, The Preliminary Results of the General Population and Housing Census, Cairo (November 1976).

[45] El-Kammash, Economic development, p. 116.

[46] A. Nasset and Abdel Kader, "Analysis of labour force in Egypt in 1966 and labour force projections up to 1985" in Demographic aspects of manpower in Arab countries, Cairo Demographic Centre, Research Monograph series No.3 (S.O.P. Press, 1972), p. 155.

As a result of the free education programme, the proportion of female students increased at all educational levels. However, the majority of students in 1978/79 were still males at each educational stage, despite the lack of tuition charges (see Table 2).

Table 2

Percentage distribution of Egyptian students by sex according to educational stage in 1969/70 and 1978/79

Educational stage	1969/70		1978/79	
	Female	Male	Female	Male
Primary	38%	62%	40%	60%
Preparatory	32%	68%	37%	63%
Secondary	37%	69%	37%	63%
Higher	25%	75%	31%	69%

Source: Islah el-Shirbini, 1972 and CAPMAS, *Statistical Yearbook*, 1979, quoted in S. Chaudry, "Female labour force participation in Egypt: An analysis of current levels and trends," (unpublished paper, March 1981), pp. 82, 84.

At the secondary level, the percentage of female students increased in both the general and technical programmes. In 1977/78, 35.3 per cent of the general secondary and 36.1 per cent
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On the surface, there appears to be a significant supply of women with some broad technical knowledge, particularly when it is noted that in 1977/78 the number of female technical students was almost one-fourth the size of the female labour force in 1976. But this conclusion is misleading since technical education includes commerce, agricultural and industrial training. In actuality, 9,620 female students studied commerce in 1977/78 while only 614 studied purely technical subjects.48

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[47] *Statistical Yearbook*, 1978, quoted in Chaudry, "Female labour force participation," p. 89.

[48] *Statistical Yearbook, 1979* quoted in Chaudry, "Female labour force," p. 88.

In spite of the rapid expansion of universities in the past 20 years, only 2 per cent of those who enter the school system graduate from university. Total enrolment is about 300,000 of whom 50 per cent are women.49 Information on women's higher education enrolment provides some indication of their fields of specialty and to a certain extent their future industrial employment possibilities. Communications and Advertising, Tourism and Hotels, Technology and Electronics faculties had no female enrolment at all in 1972/73, whereas five years later substantial numbers of women were shown to be in these areas of study. Technology appears to be the most popular of the four (see Table 5). The development of women's higher education has perhaps proved to be the most notable phenomenon of the post-1952 period. The rapid expansion of higher education has offered Egyptian women the opportunity to penetrate male-dominated professions such as engineering. Since the government guarantees jobs to all college graduates, women have gained bridgeheads in the public sector. Women engineers, in particular, have benefited from the high status associated with their degree.50

Moreover, during the period 1967-1973, thousands of male professionals were drafted into the army and women were recruited to fill professional vacancies in the public sector. Egyptian women have enrolled in increasing numbers in the science divisions of secondary schools and in science faculties of universities. For instance, women engineering students increased their representation from 0.2 per cent in 1952 to 5 per cent a decade later. Similarly, women medical students rose from 11 to 22 per cent during the same period. Female science students also increased from 12 per cent to 14 per cent during the decade.51 This trend in female higher education has affected women's occupational distribution. As a result, Egyptian women's share of the professional and technical employment increased from 22 per cent in 1960 to 25 per cent in 1976.52

More interesting is the proportion of women university students in the sciences as opposed to the humanities. In 1952 the science faculty's share of female university students was 32 per cent. This share rose to 50 per cent in 1962/63 and to 57 per

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49 United States Department of Labour.

50 C. Moore, "Women engineers in Egypt: growing equality amid professional impoverishment," Annual meeting of the American Political Science Association (New York, September 1978), p. 1.

51 Howard-Merriam, Women, education and the professions, p. 261.

52 Statistical Yearbook, 1965, 1977.

cent 10 years late.[53] Science-based professions are attracting more women than administration. A survey of Egyptian engineers, undertaken in 1973, showed that women were relegated to staff or technical jobs and were more inclined than men to express a technical attitude toward their profession.[54]

Table 3

Egyptian female enrolment in selected fields at universities

Faculty	72/73	75/76	77/78
Commerce	12,256	26,004	30,213
Law	3,729	8,804	11,374
Economics	573	263	1,378
Archaeology	245	590	571
Communications and advertising	-	813	920
Tourism and hotels	-	150	177
Medicine and pharmacology	8,364	2,171	14,602
Engineering	2,816	5,480	6,636
Physical sciences	2,552	4,326	5,183
Technology	-	1,586	1,407
Electronics	-	193	186

Source: Statistical Yearbook, , 1979, quoted in Chaudry, "Female labour force participation," p. 89.

Data from the 1960 and 1976 census show that education is an important factor in determining female industrial labour force participation. The proportion of working females in manufacturing who were illiterate was 34.2 per cent in 1976, in comparison with 41.3 per cent among the male manufacturing labour force. In contrast, the percentage of working women in manufacturing having a university degree, 6.5 per cent, was higher than that of the males, 3.1 per cent. Likewise a higher percentage of females than males had an intermediate certificate 17.8 per cent as compared with 7.7 per cent.[55]

b. Informal industrial training programme

Industrial sector training is basically the responsibility of the Ministry of Industry and Mineral Resources. The Vocational

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[53] Central Agency for Public Mobilization and Statistics, 1974, 1976.

[54] Moore, "Women engineers," *loc. cit.*

[55] M. Wahba, *Manpower dynamics and education in Egypt*, (unpublished M.A. thesis, Cairo, 1983), p. 74.

Training Division operates 37 vocational courses in various parts of Egypt. The training centres conduct three years of apprenticeship training, run short term courses (2-6 months) and upgrading programme for skilled and semi-skilled workers. As a result of male labour shortages, the Ministry has started training women for non-traditional occupations.

In addition to these vocational training centres, other public vocational training programmes are provided by different ministries. For example, in 1960, the Department of Domestic and Local Industries was established in the Ministry of Social Affairs. The Ministry has divided its activities in the field of domestic and local industries into the following:

(a) Applied industries: training approximately 11,000 boys yearly;

(b) Female industries: in 1961/62 training took place in 519 associations. The number of girl trainees was 18,531. In addition, female workshops in various governorates have been set up by the department.

5. Women's industrial labour force participation in relation to internal and external migration patterns

a. Internal migration

Internal migration is significant in Egypt because of the rapid changes in the distribution of population between urban and rural areas. Between 1907 and 1970 the urban population has doubled.[56]

However, although the flow of male and female rural migrants to urban areas is intensive, the rural population still represents the majority of the total population.

Surveys suggest several reasons for internal migration: work, education, social reasons, and housing. Women migrate mostly for social reasons, such as marriage, divorce or widowhood, but male migrants are motivated mostly by considerations of work.[57]

Concerning the destination of the rural migrants, the statistical report of the 1976 Census indicates the following:

(a) Approximately two thirds of the total migrants moved from rural areas to Cairo, Alexandria or Giza governorates;

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[56] Central Agency for Public Mobilization and Statistics, 1969.

[57] Reda Kandil, "Future Planning for Population Distribution in Egypt," Central Agency for Public Mobilization and Statistics, (Cairo, 1981), pp. 21-25.

(b) Urban areas absorbed a net total of 815,400 rural migrants.58

The accelerated development of the industrial and service sectors is one important factor explaining rural migrations to urban areas, especially Cairo, Alexandria and Giza, where the majority of the industrial enterprises are located.

Urban women have a much higher rate of labour force participation than men. In 1976, the labour force participation rate for urban women was 67.3 per cent in contrast to 3.7 per cent for rural women.59

b. External_migration

External migration is a relatively recent phenomenon in Egypt but since 1950 it has become a characteristic trait of Egyptian society.60 There have been three periods of large scale external migration:

(a) After the nationalization policy in 1961;

(b) After the 1967 war;

(c) After the rise in the price of oil in 1973.

From 1968 to 1972, temporary emigration increased by 35 per cent equivalent to an annual rate of 7.8 per cent. The number of Egyptians in Arab oil exporting countries has increased dramatically since 1973. In 1974, the number of Egyptian migrant workers was estimated to be between 500,000 and 1,000,000 individuals. By 1978, this figure reached 1.75 million, or about 15 per cent of the total Egyptian work force.61 Interestingly, an increasing number of female are emigrating to the Arab oil countries and in 1979, there were 187 wage earning Egyptian females in Saudi Arabia. These women were either single or widowed and represented 6 per cent of all Egyptian emigrants to this country. They were employed as white collar workers, professionals, semi-professionals and domestic servants.

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58 El_Ahram_El_Ektisadi No. 799, (1984), p. 20.

59 Sullivan, Women_and_work, p. 19.

60 I. Oweiss, "Migration of Egyptians," L'Egypte_Contemporaine -_Revue_Trimestrielle_de_la_Societe_Egyptienne_d'economie politique,_de_la_statistique_et_de_la_legislation, 41 (July 1980), p.5.

61 Oweiss, "Migration," p. 8.

Emigration of male labour has drastically affected the national economy and the skills available in the Egyptian labour market. It has also encouraged female labour force participation. An important group of male migrants to the rich Arab oil countries has been construction workers. The annual flow of construction workers to Arab economies increased from 6,000 in 1966 to 62,000 to 87,000 in 1978.[62] Since male emigration has lead to a shortage of certain skills in the Egyptian labour market, the government is trying to encourage women's participation in non-traditional work activities such as construction.

At the time of this report, two projects were being undertaken to train and employ females in non-traditional work activities. The first was an Egyptian-American project for females who had finished preparatory education. The project started two years earlier in Delta province and Alexandria.[63] The aim of this project was to overcome the shortage of skilled male labour because of emigration. In another experiment, undertaken by the Faculty of Social Work and financially sponsored by the Ford Foundation in Cairo, 52 females were working as carpenters in two enterprises.

External temporary population movements have greatly affected women's status. Nassef estimated the total number of emigrants in 1977 to be approximately one million.[64] Only half of these left the country with their families. This means that remaining emigrants' families were mostly headed by their wives.

In addition, as female emigrants gain more experience of economic independence, the incentive is greater for them to share in or to start their own small enterprises after returning home. Unfortunately, there is no statistical data to support this trend.

c. Characteristics of women's labour force participation

The percentage of Egyptian women in the labour force is still quite small. In 1960, the female labour force participation rate was only 4.8 per cent and, in 1976, only 4.9 per cent. In contrast the male rates for the same two years were 50.8 per cent and 52.9 per cent respectively (see Table 4).

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[62] Hanbel and Radwan, *Employment opportunities*, p. 90.

[63] Interview with Miss Malak Migahed, Director of Psychological Testing and Female Training, the Production and Vocational Training Department of the Ministry of Industry and Mineral Resources.

[64] *El-Ahram El Ektisadi*, No. 799 (May 7, 1984), pp. 28-29.

Table 4

Egyptian labour force participation rates by sex
1937-1976

Year	Females	Males
1937	7.9	65.1
1947	7.8	62.8
1960	4.8	55.2
1966	4.2	50.8
1970	3.5	49.5
1972	4.0	50.7
1976	4.9	52.9

Sources: Population census, 1937, 1947, 1960 and 1976; and Labour force sample surveys, CAPMAS. Quoted in S. Chaudry, "Female labour force participation in Egypt: an analysis of current levels and trends" (unpublished paper, March, 1981).

In addition, female activity rates vary through the life cycle. The proportion of women in the labour force is greatest among women 20-29 years of age (7.8 per cent in 1966). After that age category, the rate continues to decline. It appears that once Egyptian women are married, the few who are working tend to leave the labour force.65 However, statistically, there has been a sizeable increase in women's employment during the last two decades. In 1961, 418,600 women were employed compared to 1970.66 This increase was due to the following factors:

(a) The fastest economic and social development occurred during this period;

(b) There was a massive expansion of the educational system. Female education, in particular, greatly increased;

(c) Accelerated industrialization and urbanization created a large number of new white collar and manual occupations.67

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65 Nassef and Kader, "Labour force in 1966."

66 Sullivan, Women_and_work, p. 19

67 M. Issa, "Egyptian women's participation in labour force: secular trends, age patterns and determinants, 1907-1976," Central Agency for Public Mobilization and Statistics (Cairo, 1981), p. 6.

Significantly, during this same period, the number of women employed in industry increased substantially. The percentage of the female labour force employed in manufacturing rose from 3.3 per cent in 1961 to 11.8 per cent and 13.1 per cent in 1971 and 1976 respectively.68 Yet the proportion of employed rural women who worked in industry was much smaller than the proportion of urban women. This was due to the location of industrial enterprises. In 1976, for example, approximately 16 per cent of employed urban women worked in industry compared with 7.2 per cent of rural women. Still, the overall proportion of females employed in industry was very small compared with those employed in services. Approximately 64 per cent of urban working women and 16 per cent of rural working women were engaged in services. Overall, 48.1 per cent of all working women were employed in services.69 The high proportion of working women in service sector employment reflects the following factors:

(a) Government's guarantees to provide employment for all university graduates. The number of working women in public sector employment rose from 25,000 in 1954 to 118,000 in 1966, an increase of 472 per cent;

(b) Seclusion of females is still a dominant practice within Egyptian society. Therefore, women are needed to be teachers, doctors, nurses and social workers for the female population. Social services work has, historically, been considered suitable for upper class women;

(c) Working hours are more flexible in services than in industry.

(d) Females are unwilling to seek employment in manufacturing factories.70

(e) Services provide more acceptable professional and administrative jobs for women than industry (see Table 5).

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68 Sullivan, Women_and_work, p. 19.

69 Ibid.,

70 Sarah Loza, "Employment of Women Action Programme, Ready Made Clothes Factory South Tahrir," Population_Studies (January-March, 1979), p. 17.

Table 5

Egyptian female occupational distribution among industries, 1975

Occupation/ Industry*	(0)	(1)	(2-3)	(4)	(5)
Professional	.92	.00	2.48	.42	.64
Administrive	1.05	.00	2.11	.00	.00
Clerical	4.58	.46	15.15	1.68	2.43
Sales	.00	.00	.59	.00	.00
Manual Worker	.21	.64	88.94	.85	.00
Service Worker	.00	.00	3.50	1.40	.00
Farm Worker	98.96	.00	.42	.00	.00
N.S	.32	.16	.88	.16	.00

Occupation/ Industry*	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	Total
Professional	3.04	1.20	91.15	.15	100.00
Administrative	4.21	.00	92.63	.00	100.00
Clerical	15.99	10.38	49.02	.31	100.00
Sales	96.48	.00	.88	2.05	100.00
Manual Workers	1.91	1.91	4.89	.65	100.00
Service Workers	4.20	.28	89.92	.70	100.00
Farm Workers	.42	.00	.20	.00	100.00
Total	.00	.00	1.03	97.45	100.00

(0) Agriculture etc.; (1) Mining, etc.; (2-3) Manufacturing; (4) Construction; (5) Electricity; (6) Commerce; (7) Transport and Communication; (8) Services; (9) N.S.

According to the 1976 census, there were six economic activities which employed 84 per cent of all women workers.71 These were; farming, hunting and poultry (22 per cent); social and related services (25 per cent); cotton ginning, textiles and leather (8 per cent); general administration and security (14 per cent); personal and domestic services (9 per cent); and retail trade (6 per cent). The remaining women workers were thinly absorbed by 28 other economic activities. Over a period of time, Egyptian women workers seem to be concentrating in certain occupational categories, for example, women are an increasing proportion of professional and technical workers. In 1976, 25 per cent of such workers were women, a trend which is not evident in other African countries. Similarly, an increasing proportion of administrative/executive and clerical workers were women (see Table 6), while women's representation among craftsmen or production line workers may be declining.

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71 Chaudry, "Female labour force," p. 51.

Table 6

Concentration of Egyptian women in
occupational categories, 1960-1976

Occupational categories	Total number			Per cent female		
	1960	1966	1976	1960	1966	1976
Professional and technical	214,077	366,994	5,622,000	22	24	25
Administrative/ executive	-	137,315	1,076,000	4.7	4	9
Clerical	-	417,275	5,724,000	4	10	18
Sales	-	479,496	6,288,000	6	6	5
Services	-	1,373,046	7,803,000	15	13	9
Farmers, fishermen, loggers and related workers	-	3,802,277	43,341,000	3	3	2
Craftsmen, production workers and labourers not elsewhere classified	-	-	-	3	3	2

Source: Data for 1960 and 1966 from International Labour Organization, *Yearbook of Labour Statistics*, 1975 (Geneva, International Labour Office, 1965), *Yearbook of Labour Statistics*, 1977 (Geneva, International Labour Office, 1977), quoted in Howard-Merriam, "Women, education and the professions," p. 264.

Since female employment patterns reflect cultural, social, and economic conditions of the Egyptian environment, female occupational patterns differ greatly between rural and urban areas. In 1966, 24.6 per cent of urban working women were professionals compared with 3.9 per cent of rural women. The proportion of female clerical workers, service workers, and craftsmen in urban areas was four times that of rural areas.72 In urban areas, the vast majority of working women were employees (84 per cent in 1966). Approximately 1 per cent were employers. In contrast, the largest percentage of women in rural areas were unpaid family workers, (46 per cent in 1966), while only 33 per cent were

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72 Nassef and Kader, "Labour force in 1966," p. 153.

employees. A larger proportion of rural women were self employed (12.5 per cent).

The high percentage of unpaid rural female family workers and self-employed females suggest that a considerable proportion of rural economic activities are family enterprises. However, in rural areas there are some very small industries in which women who work as unpaid family workers are not counted in official statistics. The data also probably underestimate the number of female workers as the women or their husbands do not consider them working but only "helping out."

Available statistics indicate that there has been a sharp decline in the number of female unpaid family workers from approximately 123,200 in 1960 to 33,400 in 1976.[73] This trend probably reflects increased female enrolments in schools and the expansion of factories into the rural areas.

d. Patterns of Egyptian women's industrial employment

Historically, the percentage of females in the manufacturing labour force has fluctuated, perhaps in response to male labour shortages. In 1937, 7 per cent of the manufacturing work force were women compared with 3.5 per cent in 1960. Within the manufacturing sector, women have tended to concentrate textile and wearing apparel enterprises and the chemical industries. They appear to be a declining proportion of the labour force in the food and beverage industry as well as in wood and furniture production (see Table 7). By 1984 women represented a significant proportion of the labour force in public sector manufacturing enterprises especially in spinning, weaving and clothing (25.1 per cent), pharmaceuticals (8.5 per cent) and food processing (6.5 per cent) (see Table 8).

In 1975 more than 63 per cent of the female manufacturing labour force were manual workers compared with 5.3 per cent and 24.6 per cent professional and clerical workers (see Table 9). The high percentage of female manual workers may be due to the low level of education of women industrial workers. In 1976, 34 per cent of the women employed in manufacturing were illiterate and 25 per cent could only read or write. Only seven per cent had a university degree. In contrast, 22 per cent of the women employed in service had a university degree.[74]

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[73] Population census 1960,1967, quoted in Chaudry, "Female labour force."

[74] Wahba, *Manpower dynamics*, p. 74.

Table 7

Industrial distribution of Egyptian women workers, 1937 - 1975

Industry/Year	1937	1947	1960	1975
Agriculture	10.4	10.9	6.1	5.8
Mining	0.4	0.8	0.6	7.6
Manufacturing	7.0	6.9	3.5	5.1
Food and beverages	4.2	3.2	2.6	-
Textile and wearing apparel	11.9	9.1	4.6	-
Wood and furniture	9.5	16.1	.5	-
Chemical industries	20.5	16.0	4.6	-
Basic metal and metal products	0.6	1.1	0.5	-
Manufacture of machinery	0.4	0.9	0.5	-
All other manufacture	2.6	3.3	8.1	-
Construction				
Electricity, gas etc.	7.7	11.9	.8	7.6
Commerce	11.4	10.4	6.0	5.6
Transport and communication	0.7	0.9	1.0	3.3
Transport	0.4	0.7	0.1	-
Communication	3.9	.3	2.3	-
Services	18.3	18.5	17.9	16.5
Government	0.3	1.1	1.3	-
Community	12.4	13.7	22.8	-
Business	1.0	1.4	3.1	-
Recreation	10.7	10.1	10.2	-
Personnel	29.9	31.7	30.0	-
Not adequately described	82.1	2.8	18.9	37.4
Total	10.8	10.8	8.0	6.8

Sources: 1937-1960: A. Nassef and Abdel Kader, "Analysis of labour force in Egypt in 1966 and labour force projections up to 1985," in *Demographic aspects of manpower in Arab countries*, Cairo Demographic Centre, Research Monographic Series No.3 (1972).

1975: Labour force sample survey, Egypt (1977). Quoted in M. Issa, "The Egyptian women's participation in labour force: secular trends, age patterns and determinants, 1907-1976," Central Agency for Public Mobilization and Statistics (Cairo, 1979), p. 156.

Table 8

Distribution of the Egyptian public sector labour force by industry and sex, 1981

Sex Sector	Male No.	 %	Female No.	 %	Total No.	 %
Food industries	85 032	7.7	7 446	6.5	92 478	7.7
Spinning, weaving and clothing	26 861	24.5	28 990	25.1	94 851	24.6
Chemical products	59 286	5.4	3 582	3.1	62 868	5.2
Basic metal industry	113 098	10.4	7 103	6.3	120 201	10.1
Metallurgy	21 546	1.8	933	0.8	22 479	1.9
Petroleum	27 935	2.6	1 530	1.3	29 465	2.4
Military production	43 862	4.0	3 795	3.2	47 657	3.9
Electricity	35 565	3.2	2 949	2.5	38 514	3.3
Banking	26 022	2.3	7 028	6.1	33 050	2.7
Foreign commerce	19 094	1.7	3 696	3.2	22 790	1.9
Cotton	14 829	1.3	1 270	1.1	16 099	1.3
Insurance	6 372	1.6	2 693	2.3	9 065	0.8
Supply and internal distribution	79 794	7.2	15 113	13.1	94 907	8.6
Local transportation	48 581	4.4	3 232	2.8	51 813	4.3
Marine transportation	28 330	2.5	2 308	1.9	30 638	2.5
Housing and construction	8 323	0.8	1 750	1.5	10 073	0.8
Construction and building materials	98 988	9.2	3 894	3.3	102 882	8.6
Agriculture and irrigation	30 999	2.8	1 204	1.1	32 203	2.7
Animal products	6 589	6.6	1 634	1.4	8 223	0.7
Credit and cooperative agriculture	28 304	2.5	1 993	1.7	30 297	2.5
Tourism and air transport	15 813	1.5	3 197	2.7	19 010	1.6
Medication	14 744	1.4	9 657	8.5	24 401	2.0
Printing, paper, and publishing	2 927	0.2	312	0.3	3 239	0.3
Culture and information	813	0.1	144	0.1	957	0.1
Communications	859	0.1	83	0.1	942	0.1
Total No.	1 083 566	100	115 536	100	1 199 103	
%	90.4		9.6		100	

Source: Central Agency for Organization and Management, 1981.

Table 9

Egyptian female occupational distribution for each industry, 1975

Occupation/ Industry*	(0)	(1)	(2-3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
Professional	1.28	0.00	5.31	15.00	25.71	7.29	12.23	49.85	0.16
Administrative	0.10	0.00	0.30	0.00	0.00	0.68	0.00	3.41	0.00
Clerical	4.82	50.00	24.58	45.00	74.29	28.98	79.86	20.29	0.24
Sales	0.00	0.00	0.30	0.00	0.00	55.76	0.00	0.12	0.56
Manual Workers	0.10	30.00	63.43	10.00	0.00	0.68	6.47	0.89	0.24
Service Workers	0.00	0.00	3.79	25.00	0.00	5.08	1.44	24.86	0.41
Farm Workers	93.30	0.00	0.62	0.00	0.00	1.53	0.00	0.08	0.00
	0.40	20.00	1.62	5.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.50	98.39
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

* (0) Agriculture, etc.; (1) Mining, etc.; (2-3) Manufacturing; (4) Construction; (5) Electricity, etc.; (6) Commerce (7) Transport and Communication ; (8) Services;(9)N.S)

Part Two: ENTERPRISE LEVEL ISSUES

A. CONSEQUENCES OF INDUSTRIAL OWNERSHIP PATTERNS ON WOMEN

In the 1960"s the Egyptian Government fully controlled the economy. Private industrial investment was somewhat restricted, even after adoption of the "open door" policy in the mid 1970s. There was not widespread confidence among entrepreneurs that their investments would be encouraged by positive governmental action.

In 1976, the public sector, including the civil service and public enterprises, produced close to half of GDP, and accounted for one third of total employment. Guaranteed employment for graduates by the government led to excessive employment of the educated in the public sector.75

In the public sector, Egyptian women workers officially have equal pay and job opportunities. However, in practice, discrimination does occur, particularly in selection for promotion to higher positions. In the private sector, the bias against employing females is more evident.

B. WOMEN AS INDUSTRIAL MANAGERS

Recent statistical data show that few women occupy management positions in public sector industries; only 91 women hold top management jobs. These women represent less than 1 per cent of females employed in the public sector, though more than seven per cent of female public sector employees are in middle management positions.76 Within the public sector industries, top women managers are located primarily in certain types of industries, such as spinning and weaving, supply and inland distribution and medicine (see Table 10). In middle management, women occupy two grade levels. Most Grade One female managers work in tourism, air transport, foreign trade and food industries. The majority of Grade Two women are employed in pharmaceuticals, mineral industries and supply and inland distribution. Generally, the factors which hinder women women from attaining leading positions within industrial establishments cannot be separated from those which keep women from being active in the labour force in

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75 WASME, 1984, p. 4; Hanbel and Radwan, *Employment Opportunities*, p. 207.

76 The Central Agency for Organization and Management (1981), p. 40.

77 N. El Shaai, "Women and Managerial Leadership," paper presented at the *Conference of the Role of Women in Managerial Revolution*, (Cairo, 1977), p. 6.

general.77 However, in addition to these, the following should be considered:

(a) Managers prefer to appoint or promote men to senior positions claiming:

(i) that men are more decisive and more capable of leading;

(ii) women are often distracted from their work by domestic affairs;

(iii) the Egyptian man does not accept taking orders from a woman.78

(b) Women, themselves have a passive attitude towards increasing their numbers in administrative positions citing inborn natural limitations, demanding domestic responsibilities and male refusal to be managed by women;79

(c) Women have limited access to training programmes. For example, until recently the government's Productivity and Training Department, established in 1956, did not admit any woman to its programmes. Its policy changed recently due to skilled male labour shortages.

C. WOMEN_AS_ENTREPRENEURS

In Egypt, an entrepreneur, the heart of small or medium-scale enterprises, is usually a man. Unfortunately, there are no available data to indicate the number of female entre- preneurs in the national industrial sector. However, survey data covering micro and household enterprises in Fayoum and Kalyubiya Governorates show that the majority (91 per cent) of the owners of household enterprises are females. Moreover, about 45 per cent of the micro enterprises are owned by women (see Table 11).

The female entrepreneurs in Fayoum and Kalyubiya Governorates are generally younger and less educated than their male counterparts and lack technical experience.

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[78] Ebeed and Mostafa, "Real reasons for discrimination against women in recruitment and promotion," paper presented at Conference_of_the_Role_of_Women_in_Managerial_Revolution, (Cairo, 1977), p. 11.

[79] Ibid.,

Table 10

Distribution of Egyptian women in top management positions in the public sector by industry and grade

Industrial sector	Top		General Manager		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Food industries	1	10	3	3.7	4	4.4
Spinning, weaving and clothes	-	-	17	21.0	17	18.6
Chemical industries	-	-	6	7.4	6	6.6
Basic mineral industries	1	10	2	2.4	3	3.3
Mining	-	-	2	2.4	2	2.2
Petroleum	-	-	3	3.7	3	3.3
Military production	1	10	3	3.7	4	4.4
Electricity	-	-	2	2.4	2	2.2
Banking	3	30	6	7.4	9	9.9
Foreign trade	-	-	3	3.7	3	3.3
Cotton	-	-	1	1.2	1	1.1
Supply and inland distribution	-	-	9	11.2	9	9.9
Inland transportation	-	-	1	1.2	1	1.1
Marine transport	-	-	4	5.1	4	4.4
Housing and reconstruction	-	-	1	1.2	1	1.1
Construction and building materials	-	-	7	8.8	7	7.7
Agriculture and irrigation	-	-	2	2.4	2	2.2
Animal production	1	1	-	-	1	1.1
Tourism and air transport	1	1	3	3.7	4	4.4
Medicine	2	20	6	7.4	8	8.8
Total	10	100	81	100	91	100

Source: Central Agency for Organization and Management, 1981.

D. WOMEN'S TRADE UNION ACTIVITIES

Women are clearly a minority in the membership of General Union boards (1.4 per cent). In 1984, of seven General Union

Boards, of 21 members each, there was only one woman participant.80

Eisha Abd El-Hadi, a member of the Board of the General Union for Chemicals and a pioneer female unionist, attributed the limited participation of women in union affairs to the following factors:

(a) Marital status: Union activities are usually every night except Fridays, a schedule which is not convenient for females. Because of the multiple roles of married women, it is too hard for them to participate three hours per day in union activities. Single and divorced females are not able to participate because of socio-cultural attitudes. Night work for both single and divorced females is socially opposed and minimizes chances of marriage and remarriage;

(b) Personal attitudes of women: Females tend to be shy and many believe that union activities are more suitable for men. Working wives usually leave social and political activities to their husbands.81

E. WOMEN'S WORK BEHAVIOUR

There are no accurate statistical records of absenteeism among working women in the industrial sector nationally. However, some Egyptian conference reports and studies have suggested that working women have higher absenteeism rates than men. For example, during the 1963 Working Women's Conference held in Cairo, a study prepared by the Preparatory Committee indicated that 70 per cent of working women exceeded fixed holiday limits.82 Another empirical study on the effects of employing women in production indicated that working women are on the top of the list of those who use up their regular holidays. In this study, 50 per cent of the married women took delivery leave and then took sick leave afterwards.83

In a third study of working females employed in 1977 at an engineering industries company, the average yearly rate for a married women's absence was 82.8 days. Such absences had a significant impact on factory production and it became evident

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80 Interview with Farouk Shebeeta, Director of Local Federations, General Federation of Trade Unions, 1984.

81 Ibid.

82 Conference of Working Women's Affairs, Social Affairs Department, Standing Committee of Women, (Cairo 23-27 Nov. 1963), pp. 25-70.

83 Ebeed and Mostafa, Real reasons, p. 14.

that as a result, productivity decreased by 7.8 per cent.[84] About 77 per cent of days absent were due to family circumstances.

In addition the absenteeism rate of working women in the industrial sector is closely connected with the number and ages of their children. The rate increases with the increasing number of children. The average annual number of days absent for a childless woman is 17.1 days compared with 35.7 days for a three child and mother 45.7 days for a six child family.[85]

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[84] S. Khidr, *Absenteeism of Working Women and Productivity* (Unpublished M.A. dissertation, Ain-Shams University, 1983), p. 250.

[85] *Ibid.*, p. 253.

Table 11

Characteristics of small scale Egyptian entrepreneurs by industry and sex in Fayoum and Kalyubiya governorates (1982)

Industry	Household enterprises		Micro enterprises		Total
	Male head	Female head	Male head	Female head	Firms
Mats	1,124	49			1,173
Hats	-	1,243			1,243
Baskets	310	3,863			4,173
Dairy					
Modern			100	-	100
Household	4,678	55,282			59,960
Embroidery					
Modern			18	12	30
Household		1,016			1,016
Tailors			3,159	-	3,159
Dressmakers			476	5,054	5,530
Shoemakers			781	18	799
Furniture			1,064	-	1,064
Rugs			286	7	293
Tiles			149	3	152
Machine shops			122	-	122
Agricultural implements			223	13	236
Total	6,112	61,453	6,378	5,107	79,050
Adjusted Total 1)	1,454	6,171	5,902	53	13,560

Notes: For household industries, household dairy is excluded; for micro industries, dressmakers are excluded.

Source: S. Davis *et al*, "Small enterprises in Egypt; a study of two governorates" (unpublished paper), p. 40.

Part Three: CONCLUSIONS

(1) Historically, the economic role of Egyptian women has been related to the principal changes in the Egyptian economic system;

(2) Labour legislation has negatively affected women's participation in the private industrial sector;

(3) According to the 1976 census, only 9.2 per cent of the total female population were wage earners. Socio-cultural and economic factors influence women's low industrial labour force participation;

(4) As a result of sexual division of labour in the Egyptian family, there is an unequal domestic workload to the detriment of women workers;

(5) Analytically, the social composition of the population, class differences, and Islam are the main factors affecting attitudes for both sexes at the household and societal levels;

(6) Concepts of family honour, illiteracy, poverty and the lack of job opportunities still dominate social life in rural communities and these factors lower female status. However, in the cities, industrialization has expanded and is associated with new attitudes for both sexes. Women's desires to look for work may be related to their material and social status;

(7) In the manufacturing sector, women's educational preparation was a significant indicator of their ability to play an effective role in industrialization during the period 1960 to 1976. However, empirical evidence shows that there is little complementarity between the type of formal female education and the requirements of the industrial system;

(8) There is a shortage of skilled labour force in the current Egyptian labour market. This is mainly due to external temporary migration after 1973, which in turn has had positive effect on women's participation in industrialization. As a result of the male labour shortage, non-traditional activities are now opening up for women;

(9) There has been a significant increase in female employment. However, the improvement is still poor if compared with the percentage of females in the total population of Egypt;

(10) The low female participation in the industrial sector is due to several factors including the location of industrial enterprises. Such enterprises are located mainly in the urban centres, thus there is little opportunity for industrial work in

rural areas. Women form the majority of rural residents. They are also increasingly the heads of families in rural areas due to male emigration.

(11) Culturally, female managers in the industrial enterprises are rejected by male and female employees;

(12) In law, working women in Egypt have equality in pay, opportunity and recruitment. However, in practice discrimination against them occurs, particularly in the selection and/or promotion processes for higher organizational positions. In the private sector, discrimination against employing females seems more apparent;

(13) Working women have negative attitudes toward trade unions and see unionism as a male symbol;

(14) Empirically, the rate of absenteeism among female labour is higher than that among male labour.

III. REPUBLIC OF COTE D'IVOIRE: WOMEN AND INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT IN FRANCOPHONE WEST AFRICA

by Sion Solomon

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this study is to examine the role of women in the industrial development of the Cote d'Ivoire during the United Nations' Industrial Development Decade for Africa (1980-1990). According to the Decade programme, during the preparatory phase (1982-1984) member States of the Economic Commission for Africa and the Organization of African Unity (OAU) are required to give high priority to the implementation of specific measures at national level for the attainment of self sufficiency in food production, building materials and textiles - priority industrial subsectors of the Lagos Plan of Action. The Lagos Plan of Action accords an important place to the integration of women in the industrialization process and states:

> ". . . that the strategy relating to women should include the following fields: agriculture and nutrition; handicrafts and small scale industries; employment; education and training; science and technology; trade; natural resources, especially water supply; energy; health and family life; population; research; mass media; and the establishment of national and subregional machineries for the integration of women in development". 1

The Government of Cote d'Ivoire has taken and intends to take, pursuant to the 1981-1985 National Development Plan and other policies, a number of general and specific measures affecting women quite similar in many ways to the policies set out in the Lagos Plan and in the Decade programme. However, very recently the Ivorian Government has started to give serious attention to the Decade programme itself, but most of the industrial subsectors singled out for priority development during the Decade have, in the Cote d'Ivoire, already reached a relatively advanced level of development. It is therefore possible to say that, in general, even if there had been advance preparation for the Decade, the Ivorian planners' task would have been comparatively easier than the task of their counterparts in other many African countries.

The Government of Cote d'Ivoire is based on a one party system. A National Assembly, whose 120 delegates are elected for a five-year mandate, is the legislative organ. The Economic and Social Council, a consultative organ appointed by the Government, advises on legislative proposals affecting the economic and

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1 Economic Commission for Africa, Doc. No. E/CN.14/781/Add.1, p. 95.

social life of the country. These planners have to consider serious constraints in developing meaningful industrial plans.

The economy of the Cote d'Ivoire is the healthiest in Francophone West Africa as it has successively registered a more than average growth rate during the greater part of the last 20 years. However, in the last few years, the growth rate of the economy has weakened markedly, so that the GDP at constant prices increased by only 2.4 per cent in 1980 and by 1.4 per cent in 1981 as opposed to 11.3 per cent in 1978 and 7 per cent in 1979. Efforts to improve the performance of the economy during the early 1980s met with several obstacles, some of which were:

(a) The low demand for locally produced raw materials resulting from repercussions of the world economic crisis;

(b) The drastic decrease in the export prices of the two most important agricultural commodities, coffee and cocoa, and the decision of the Government to keep a large quantity of these commodities in storage until prices improved;

(c) The combined effects of recent drought, forest fires and swarms of locusts, together with reduced agricultural production, in general, and the main export commodities, such as coffee and cocoa, in particular.

On top of these natural calamities, general financial difficulties have forced the country to totally abandon or postpone certain projects. In concrete terms, all of these problems had the effect of reducing coffee production from 350,000 tons in 1981 to 250,000 in 1982 and cocoa from 430,000 tons in 1981 to 390,000 tons in 1982.

At the time of this study the industrial sector of the Ivorian economy contributed about 27 per cent to the GDP. The mining industry, normally insignificant, appeared to be picking up due to the discovery and increasing production of petroleum, while the manufacturing sector seemed about to experience a declining growth rate, partly because electricity production had been significantly reduced in recent months.

In so far as recent trends in the external economic relations of the Cote d'Ivoire are concerned, it should be mentioned that there was a very sharp current account deficit in 1978. This was mainly accounted for by the rise in the country's debt service expenditure against the significant drop in income from exports. This had been further aggravated by the increase in world prices of industrial and petroleum products.

In addition, the inflow of capital from abroad failed to compensate for the outflow of resources mainly in the form of payments for services and transfers of nonresident workers' remittances.

The country has recently imposed a measure of self-restraint on borrowing and on public investment. However, the following factors, among others, are likely to make recovery more difficult:

(a) The commissioning of the Soubre Dam, in itself a great asset for the future, could, in the short-term, necessitate heavy expenditure;

(b) The Government, convinced about the need to restructure certain sectors of the economy, had, in 1981 contracted loans amounting to the equivalent of US$1.2 billion. The 1983 US$250 million loan from the World Bank was also contracted mainly for the same objective;

(c) The several devaluations of the French franc (FF) amounted to an automatic devaluation of the Ivorian currency (CFA), as the CFA is based on the FF. 2 These devaluations heavily increased all the country's debts in other currencies. Considering that about 74 per cent of the Cote d'Ivoire's debts prior to 1981 were denominated in currencies outside the franc zone, it is easy to see the magnitude of the difficulties.

A. INDUSTRIALIZATION AND INDUSTRIAL POLICIES

This section surveys the history of industrialization in the Cote d'Ivoire in order to establish the basis for an analysis of the role of women in the IDDA programme in that country.

1. Pre-independence

Prior to independence, industrial activity in the Cote d'Ivoire was virtually nonexistent. Economic activity was geared towards agricultural commodity production such as coffee, cocoa, fruit and timber for export. Besides the absence of any conscious French effort to industrialize the country, other factors such as a weak internal demand for manufactured goods, the inadequacy of the existing infrastructure and the lack of capital, skilled manpower and entrepreneurship delayed the start of industrialization. Thus at independence in 1960 there were only 180 industrial enterprises, with a value added of 7.5 billion CFA francs, or 6 per cent of the GDP. These enterprises, concentrated in the textile and export oriented food processing subsectors, employed an insignificant number of unskilled and semi-skilled nationals. 3

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2 In November 1985 the official exchange rate was CFA franc 400 = US$1.00.

3 Ministere du Plan, *Plan Quinquennal de Developpement, Economique, Social et Culturel, 1971-1975*, p. 6.

In 1969, the National Assembly passed an investment code giving special privileges to preferred enterprises. This legislation played an important role in the industrial development of the country, as will be discussed.

2. Post-independence - first phase

Immediately upon independence, the Cote d'Ivoire Government introduced the first national plan, *Perspective Decennales de developpement*, covering the period 1960-1970. The main objective of this plan were the development of natural resources, the substitution of local goods for imported consumer goods and the production of primary goods for existing or planned industrial enterprises.

At the end of the plan period, the value added to industrial production had increased from 7.5 billion to 49.3 billion CFA francs representing 14 per cent of the country's GDP that year. The number of industrial enterprises increased from the original 180 to 355. As the number of industrial enterprises increased, their fields of operation also multiplied. By 1970, a number of import substitution activities, based primarily on imported raw materials, were started in such diverse areas as food processing, beverage production, diary product transformation, petroleum refining, and motor vehicle assembly. Other industrial activities, aimed at the export market, had also begun to expand in such fields as the production of soluble coffee, cocoa, butter, fish and pineapple canning. At the same, the Government established a number of relatively large state-owned corporations for the production of raw materials including palm oil, cocoa and cotton to supply existing or planned public or mixed industrial enterprises.

However, the development strategy adopted during this period, did not, in many respects, meet the Government's aspirations. particularly in that:

(a) Most of the established industrial enterprises had small capacities and were oriented towards the domestic market;

(b) The enterprises frequently requested Government assistance under the 1959 Investment Code and, in spite of the privileges granted, often met with difficulties and came up with additional requests;

(c) The special treatment accorded to some enterprises constituted a cover-up against losses resulting from evident mismanagement;

(d) Some enterprises did not bother to establish long term growth policies, but contented themselves with the undertaking of some ad hoc investment whenever the returns on such investments were relatively certain and clearly attractive. The enterprises **had a tendency to** underestimate their potential and hence **to underinvest.**

However, the Government was very much aware of the strategical constraints of the 1960-1970 plan, such as the narrow domestic market and the low level of per capita income. The Government was also aware of the marginal nature of Ivorian participation in the modern sector. It was against this background that the second phase of industrial development started in 1971.

3. Second phase

The second phase of Ivorian industrial development covered the period 1970-1980 which corresponded to the 1971-1975 and 1976-1980 national development plans. During this period, the Government set out the following major national goals:

(a) To intensify the development of national resources;

(b) To muster stronger efforts to realize a high rate of return;

(c) To increase the participation of Ivorians in the economic development activities;

(d) To identify the development of human resources.

In particular, as far as the industrial sector was concerned, the aims in both national plans were:

(a) To increase the percentage of industrial value added to the GDP to 24 per cent by 1980;

(b) To ensure the establishment of a new generation of industrial enterprises which would produce goods mainly for the export market, as opposed to the existing import substituting enterprises which were limited from further expansion by the narrowness of the domestic market. It was felt that new and larger production capacity enterprises, benefiting from the advantages of economies of scale and relatively low labour costs. [4] would have a comparative advantage in the production and sale of certain, mainly agro-based, manufactured goods in industrialized markets.

During 1970-1980, the notable achievements of the industrial sector occurred in the textile and the food processing subsector.

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[4] It should be noted that in the final analysis Ivorian labour was not so cheap because of minimum wage legislation inherited from the colonial era.

In the textile subsector, the period saw the establishment of two cotton spinning and weaving factories, namely the UTEXI in Dimbokro in 1974, with an annual capacity of 12,000 tons, and COTIVO in Agboville in 1976, with an annual capacity of 9,000 tons. The textile printing factories built during the preceding period were expanded with a view to the exportation of some of their products. In the food processing subsector, additional enterprises for the production and export of cocoa butter, cocoa, cake and chocolate production were set up. Six sugar factories were also established.

The above clearly demonstrates that, as in phase one, phase two also met with above average success. However, as was the case with phase one, phase two was faced with some problems which had no immediate solutions. Some of the external problems included the world recession, the increase in the cost of imported energy, raw materials and spare parts, the strong competition facing Ivorian products on the international market, and industrialized nations' protective policies.

4. *Third phase*

The policy orientation for the third phase of the Ivorian development is given in the 1981-1985 plan document. According to the plan, the country's objectives for industrialization are:

> (a) Maximization of the national industrial value added by ensuring the availability of locally produced raw materials, and the development as well as the transmission of indigenous technology;
>
> (b) The Ivorianization of employment and capital. In this respect, priority would be given to small or medium scale enterprises and cottage industry in as much as such enterprises contribute to the general development objective.
>
> (c) Development of regional economic co-operation for the purpose of enlarging the market for Ivorian products; encouraging co-operative production; training; technological research efforts. 5

Although the national economy in general is being hit by an ongoing international crisis and internal financial difficulties, the performance of the industrial sector has been above average during the years 1960 to 1982.

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[5] Ministere du plan, *Plan Quinquennal de Developpement Economique Social et Culturel 1981-1985*, p. 158.

Table 12

Ivory Coast industrial development indicators, 1980, 1982

	1980	1982	Variation
Number of enterprises	705	727	+ 22
Equity capital	180 billion CFA	199 billion CFA	+ 19 billion CFA
Cumulative investment	701 billion CFA	1,074 billion CFA	+ 373 billion CFA
Gross sales revenue	795 billion CFA	1,066 billion CFA	+ 272 billion CFA
(Of which exported)	282 billion CFA	394 billion CFA	+ 112 billion CFA
Number of salaried employees	71,373	68,359	- 3,014
(Of which Ivorians)	53,780	91,223	- 2,557

Source: Ivory Coast Ministry of Planning

Although exact figures for 1983 are not yet available, and there are reasons to believe that such exceptional economic performance may be very hard to repeat in the remaining years of the Industrial Decade for Africa, yet, taking into consideration planned Government measures and the untouched potentialities of the country, the present difficulties may be for only a short duration.

B. INDUSTRIAL POLICY OF THE IVORY COAST

It is difficult to say that the rapid industrial development of the Cote d'Ivoire was a result solely of the Government's industrial policies. Other factors, such as the political stability, the existence of competent administration, adequate infrastructure, availability of expatriate management and technicians and the convertibility of the CFA franc, could have been considered adequate encouragement when investments promised to be highly profitable. Since all investments could not have been so highly profitable, it is therefore very probable that governmental investment incentives have played a considerable role in attracting investment.

According to the Investment Code of 1959, enterprises created after 11 April 1959, or enterprises which have undertaken major extensions after that date, provided that they satisfy the definition of "priority enterprises," are granted tax concessions, customs duty exemptions on machinery to set up the plant or on raw materials, reduction of export duties and reduction in registration fees. 6

Besides the concessions of the Investment Code, foreign investors are guaranteed unlimited repatriation of profits and capital.

C. REGIONAL CO-OPERATION FOR DEVELOPMENT

The Cote d'Ivoire is a member of a number of subregional organizations concerned with economic co-operation in order to widen their markets. A close relationship presently exists with the West African Economic Community (CEAO) and the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS).

Both organizations aim at the promotion of the economic development of their member States with a view to improving their internal standard of living through the establishment of an organized trade zone and the formulation of an active policy of subregional economic co-operation.

D. EDUCATIONAL CHARACTERISTICS OF IVORIAN WOMEN

Education and training are critical factors which influence the extent of women's participation in the industrial development process. It is therefore important to have some background information about the Ivorian educational system in general and to evaluate women's educational characteristics. The objective of the Cote d'Ivoire Government is to give its citizens equal access to education without any distinction on the basic of race, sex or religion. Since independence onwards, the Government has built schools with a view to providing education for all school age children within as short a time as possible. The educational system comprises three levels, namely, primary, secondary and higher. In addition, there are technical and vocational schools

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6 The following are considered as priority enterprises: (1) Enterprises in the following sectors: (a) Housing developments; (b) Industrial farming; (c) Industrial enterprises for the preparation and mechanical or chemical transformation of vegetables or animals; (d) Industries for the manufacture and assembly of articles consumed in large quantities; (e) Mining enterprises as well as petroleum exploration enterprises; (f) Industries for energy production. (2) Enterprises considered of economic and social importance.

as well as permanent and occasional training programmes provided by some ministries, semi-public agencies, private enterprises and religious institutions.

Primary education has three phases, each lasting two years. These are the preparatory phase, the elementary phase and the intermediate phase. Secondary education is divided into two parallel categories, the general and the technical. General education is given in high schools and colleges, while technical education is given in vocational training centres, technical industrial colleges, vocational and technical high schools. General secondary education consists of two phases. The first phase lasts four and the second phase, - three years. At the end of the first phase, a *Brevet d'etudes du premier cycle* (BEPC) is obtained through examinations. These examinations, which are a common denominator of general and technical education, are used for assigning successful pupils to specialized channels where they pursue their studies further and obtain different types of *baccalaureat* (a certificate signifying the completion of secondary education) or to a technical industrial education college where they obtain the *Brevet d'etudes professionnelles* (BBP) or to vocational high schools where they are trained for direct employment. Pupils unable to go through the first phase may, depending on their aptitude and available vacancies, gain admission to vocational training centres or technical industrial education schools where they obtain the *Certificats d'aptitude professionnelle* (CAP).

Higher education is provided by the University of Abidjan, university level institutes and colleges. In addition, there are several post-secondary schools specializing in commerce, agriculture, telecommunications etc. Education and training which is useful for participation in the industrialization process is normally obtained from technical education and vocational training. The basic question is whether, and to what extent, Ivorian women have obtained or are in the process of obtaining such education or training.

1. *Primary education*

The number of pupils enrolled in primary schools rose from 566,689 in 1972-1973 to 1,134,910 during the school year 1982-1983. The number of girls in the primary schools rose from 210,603 to 461,452 during the same period. However, the number of girls enrolled in primary schools is smaller than the number of boys, for example, in 1982-1983 girls only 40.6 per cent of the total enrolment. [7]

2. *Secondary education*

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[7] Ministry of National Education and Scientific Research, Statistics Department.

The representation of girls among secondary school students is much lower than their presence in primary schools. However, it is encouraging to note that the rate of their presence on the whole has been progressively increasing, both in absolute and percentage terms from year to year. In 1972-1973, out of 85,500 pupils, 22.9 per cent were girls, while in 1982-1983 out of a total of 217,558 pupils 28.2 per cent were girls. [8]

3. *Technical education and vocational training*

Although technical education and training started soon after independence, for many years after that the number of graduates with *bacheliers C*, the diploma normally qualifying its owner for a scientific and technical career, has been quite insignificant. These institutions have about a hundred graduates per annum. [9]

Table 13 shows the enrolment of students by gender in institutions offering technical education and vocational training during the years 1978-1979 to 1982-1983.

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[8] *Ibid.*

[9] Bureau International du Travail (PECTA), *Besoins Essentiels et Niveau de Satisfaction dans la Communaute Economique de l'Afrique de l'Ouest: Le cas de la Cote d'Ivoire*, (Addis Ababa, 1981), p. 122.

Enrolment of Republic of Cote D'Ivoire students in technical colleges and vocational training centres distributed by sex, 1978/79 – 1982/83

Training	Establishments	1978 - 1979			1979 - 1980			1980 - 1981		
		M	F	TOTAL	M	F	TOTAL	M	F	TOTAL
Training Establishment under the Ministry of Technical Education and Vocational Training	Commercial section	2871	1480	4351	2848	1778	4626	2785	2095	4880
	Industry section	4929	115	5044	4465	147	4612	6027	98	6125
	Social section	-	579	579	-	612	612	-	625	625
	Teacher Training	164	11	175	225	11	236	326	22	348
	Total	7964	2185	10149	7538	2348	(2)10344	9138	2840	11978
Private Training Establishments	Commercial Section	4232	10108	(1)14340	5638	8288	13926	6132	6502	12634
	Industry Section	2095	36	2131	672	29	701	261	666	927
	Social Section	-	-	-	14	1116	1130	507	790	1297
	Total	6327	10144	16471	6324	9433	15757	6900	7958	14858
Training Establishment under other Ministries		7571	1958	9529	10063	1538	11601	9189	1970	11159
GRAND TOTAL		21862	14287	36149	23925	13519	37702	25227	12768	37995

Training	Establishments	1981 - 1982			1982 - 1983		
		M	F	TOTAL	M	F	TOTAL
Training Establishment under the Ministry of Technical Education and Vocational Training	Commercial section	2725	1968	4693	2306	1886	4192
	Industry section	4872	80	4952	6225	123	6348
	Social section	-	655	655	-	634	634
	Teacher Training	229	18	247	160	19	179
	Total	7826	2701	(3)10861	8691	2662	11353
Private Training Establishments	Commercial Section	5637	9367	15004	3569	6590	10159
	Industry Section	1271	38	1309	984	16	1000
	Social Section	4	1203	1207	9	1139	1148
	Total	6912	10608	17520	4562	7745	12307
Training Establishment under other Ministries		10044	1706	11750	10792	2075	12867
GRAND TOTAL		24782	15015	40151	24045	12482	36527

The table shows that, although the Cote d'Ivoire has enjoyed a high rate of economic growth during the last twenty years, enrolment in technical and vocational institutions is strikingly small. Moreover, the Ivorian system of education is reputed to be very selective and the number of students who drop out for various reasons is very high, for both boys and girls. 10 The table also shows that few females are enrolled in the industrial and teacher training sections. The predominantly female fields of study are the commercial (typing, bookkeeping and secretarial training), and the social sections (social work). In both public and private establishments, where similar courses are offered, the representation of girls in the commercial section is usually greater than half the total. In the case of the social section, statistics give the impression that it is a female domain.

Enrolment of girls in private establishments is higher than that of boys but, unfortunately, most private establishments are reputed to be providing substandard education. Table 13 also gives the total number of men and women who have undergone training under some ministries which provide training to satisfy their own manpower requirements. 11

It must, however, be underlined that most of these training courses are of very short duration, and some of them are given at elementary levels.

4. University education

Table 14 shows the very low representation of women in the University as a whole and their systematic choice of non- technical and nonscientific fields. The preferred fields of studies are law, literature and liberal arts.

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10 Barbara Montgomery, "Le role economique de la femme ivoirienne," Centre Ivoirien de recherche economique et social, no. 9 (March, 1986), pp. 30-33.

11 These include the Ministries of Cultural Affairs, Social Affairs, Agriculture, Commerce, Defence, Water and Forests, Economy, Finance and Planning, Youth and Sports, Marine, Interior, Primary Education and Educational Television, Public Service, Justice, Animal Production, Construction and Urban Development, Public Health, Education (Secondary).

Table 14

Enrolment of Cote D'Ivoire University Students by faculty and institute according to sex, 1972/73 1983/84

Year	Law		Economics		Sciences		Liberal Arts		Medicine		Odontol. Stomatol.	
	T	F	T	F	T	F	T	F	T	F	T	F
1972/73	822	119	770	66	756	96	1112	362	537	93		
1973/74	976	162	780	69	817	126	1332	376	607	116		
1974/75	1227	196	870	65	835	95	1574	414	634	116		
1975/76	1448	257	912	96	922	87	1825	439	730	140	49	22
1976/77	1690	316	1165	125	1124	111	2234	559	818	167	43	19
1977/78	1884	347	1377	137	1294	127	2679	849	891	194	48	17
1978/79	2569	485	1630	182	1427	140	2913	701	964	241	48	16
1979/80	2930	572	1829	223	1633	162	3358	770	1038	260	51	21
1980/81	3676	619	2100	290	1828	188	3511	804	1119	291	57	21
1981/82	3604	574	1974	279	1935	199	3399	815	1244	323	59	22
1982/83	3443	531	1833	273	2048	225	3169	719	1338	356	57	28
1983/84	3218	537	1855	273	2270	265	3151	771	1445	403	60	25

Year	Pharmacy		Technical		Criminol		Applied. Psychol.		French Language		Total	
	T	F	T	F	T	F	T	F	T	F	T	F
1972/73			181	36							4178	772
1973/74			222	34							4734	883
1974/75			226	31							5366	917
1975/76			278	35					110	47	6274	1123
1976/77			302	38	35	1	10	5	130	77	7551	1418
1977/78	31	14			15	-	8	3	136	82	8363	1790
1978/79	44	21	304	41			12	4	143	83	10054	1914
1979/80	68	31	371	50	42	2	9	2	245	130	11574	223
1980/81	88	36			127	7	18	4	229	118	12753	2378
1981/82	98	43			89	2	23	5	205	112	12630	2369
1982/83	103	47			95	4	28	7	190	96	12304	2286
1983/84	118	48			96	7	30	8	180	99	12423	2436

The question as to why the representation of women in the different levels of the educational system is low has been posed several times in different studies. Even though no specific answer can be given, the following have contributed to this trend:

(a) Initial enrolment of girls in primary schools is low and, with dropouts and failures, their representation becomes ever lower in professional colleges and institutions;

(b) Prejudicial attitudes, derived from traditions and religion, divert girls from the scientific and industrial fields and restrict them to commercial and social sections;

(c) It is a commonly held belief that woman's role should be centred around the home. Women have a lot of tasks to accomplish besides preparing food for the family and taking care of their children, for example, women participate in every aspect of agriculture. In these tasks, girls are expected to help their mothers and, thus, have little opportunity to go to school;

(d) Although school tuition is free, books and uniforms are not. Therefore, when family income is insufficient to pay for all children's school expenses, only boys are sent to school. 12

In many cases, girls are forced to go to private schools which charge very high tuition fees as a limited number of places are reserved for girls in the public technical and professional schools. 13

5. General

Ivorian girls usually start school when they are eight or nine years of age. This means that they have very few years before they reach puberty when the risk of unwanted pregnancies is very high. If this occurs, girls discontinue their studies. Most families think that modern education destroys traditional values and women's role in traditional society. There is also a fear that children who go to school become disrespectful towards their families and that girls become more vulnerable to temptations resulting in unwanted pregnancies. 14

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12 Montgomery, "La femme ivoirienne," *loc. cit.*, p. 7.

13 *CIADFOR* No. 40, (November 1982), p. 13; and *Commission Nationale de la Formation feminine*. Abidjan, Janvier 1977 p. 37.

14 Montgomery, "La femme ivoirienne," *loc. cit.*, p. 27.

Few Ivorian girls go to school, especially at the higher levels. But the problem is compounded when it is noted that these few are not trained in the areas of severe shortage. The education process in the Cote d'Ivoire presents a paradox. On the one hand, there is a persistent, unsatisfied demand in the labour market for certain professional and technical skills. On the other hand, there is a surplus of otherwise qualified youngsters. This surplus contains some of the few women who have been able, despite all the difficulties, to obtain the undemanded qualifications.

E. THE ROLE OF WOMEN IN THE INDUSTRIALIZATION OF THE IVORY COAST

1. Activities of rural women

In the past, most rural Ivorian women did not like to engage in commercial agriculture, and often refused assistance given to them by companies in such activities. They participated in all subsistence agricultural activities except ploughing, fishing and tree felling, which were considered to be male tasks. 15

Thus, in the Bouake area it was estimated that in 1973, women cultivated 70 per cent of such subsistence crops as maize, peanuts and cassava. It is the responsibility of women in almost all parts of the country to take care of the basic necessities such as food and clothing, as well as household expenses, not only for their children, but also for their husbands. The men were thus free to enter commercial production of cotton, tobacco and coffee, or to seek urban wage employment. The introduction of export-oriented agriculture further encouraged this trend.

It must be pointed out, however, that in recent years, the number of rural salaried women has shown a remarkable growth rate. The average annual growth rate in the number of rural salaried women between 1975-1981 was 6.1 per cent, whereas during the period 1981-1983, this percentage jumped to 28 per cent. 16

This increase was due to women's growing interest in employment and the fruit planters' drive to recruit them.

2. Impact of industrial policy on women's modern sector employment

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15 Bellouard, Marie-Paule, Le role de la femme dans le developpement economique de la Cote d'Ivoire, du Mali et du Senegal, pp. 90-91.

16 K. P. Kotti and P. N. Ampoh, The Employment of Women in the Cote d'Ivoire (Ministry of Labour and Ivorianization, 1983), p. 13.

Government investment incentives have led to industrial production with a strong capital coefficient and have tended to discourage Ivorian employment creation. 17 Generally, capital intensive factories required highly skilled personnel and even now such people are fairly rare in the Cote d'Ivoire. Most management and skilled personnel are employed from abroad at three to five times the cost of similarly qualified local experts. Moreover, such factories use proportionately fewer other local factors and thereby do not encourage the expansion of local production of raw materials and other intermediate inputs. In turn this decreases the chances of a significant secondary employment effect. The following additional factors contribute to the limited employment generating capacity of industry:

(a) A good number of the shareholders of some of the companies are foreigners and between 44 and 50 per cent of the profits of the companies are transfered abroad in the form of dividends and expatriate salaries; 18

(b) In the agro-based industries only the very first stages of processing are done locally, as in the case of sawn lumber, latex and ginned cotton;

(c) Import substitution factories are running below capacity in some cases, because of the narrowness of the local market;

(d) Prospects for export oriented factories do not seem to be any brighter because of the ever increasing cost of capital equipment and industrialized nations frequent resort to protectionism.

In 1971, 132,260 employees worked in all branches of the modern sector; of these, 3.8 per cent were women (see Table 15). Out of the total number of women employees, 68 per cent worked in the tertiary sector; 28 per cent were employed in the secondary sector and 4.3 per cent in the primary sector.

By 1982, the percentage of women employees in the modern sector had risen to 6.1 per cent out of a total of 197,227 employees. As in 1971, the bulk of women employees was found in the tertiary sector (52 per cent), followed by the secondary sector (40 per cent) and the primary sector (8.5 per cent).

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17 Jean Masini, Moises Ikonicoff, Claudio Jedlicki and Mario Lenzarotti, *Les multinationales et le développement - Trois entreprises et la Cote d'Ivoire*, pp. 44-45.

18 *CIRES* No. 26 (September 1980), p. 11.

Table 15

Industrial distribution of Ivorian women employees

Industry	1971		1973-74		1979		1982	
	Female	Total	Female	Total	Female	Total	Female	Total
Primary sector	216	33,066	451	46,662	329	28,183	1,019	16,211
Secondary sector	1,396	54,667	1,542	59,891	2,676	123,199	4,792	112,206
Tertiary Sector	3,419	44,507	3,912	61,023	8,050	93,654	6,228	68,810
Grand total	5,031	132,260	5,912	167,576	11,055	245,030	12,039	197,227
% of women		(3.8)		(3.5)		(4.5)		(6.1)

Source: Data for the years 1971, 1973/74 and 1979 was provided by the National Office for Vocational Training.
Data for 1982 was provided by the Centre de Bilan of the Ministry of Economy and Finance.

3. Women's employment in selected industrial enterprises

In the course of this study, a number of representative establishments in the textile, garment, food processing and soap industries were visited with a view to ascertaining women's occupations and job specifications. Contrary to common practice in other countries, the textile factories do not have many women employees, (with the exception of the Gonfreville textile factory in Bouake which employees 227 women out of a total workforce of 2,753.) In UNIWAX at Youpougon, there were only six females out of a total of 860 employees. They were engaged in the administrative section as secretaries, telephone operators and clerical workers. Even though work in the factory appears to be tiring and difficult and requires a great deal of physical force, there are still some tasks, such as designing, packing and inspection, which women could easily handle.

The representation of women workers is much better in the garment industry, especially in those firms producing women's and children's clothes. Women work as tailors, stitchers, sewing machine operators, pressers and assistants. Such jobs require low level skills and offer no advancement. In 1971 the garment factory MIVET (*Manufacture Ivoirienne de Vetements*)) of Koumassi employed the first women factory workers. At the time of this study, the factory had 250 female and 150 male workers.

Another field where women workers are found is in the tuna fish canning factory where practically all the employees are women.

In most countries, the handling, processing and packing of fruit are usually done by women, if only by virtue of the important role women traditionally play in food preparation. In the Cote d'Ivoire, the situation is slightly different. For example, in the pineapple canning factory at Abidjan practically all the factory workers are male and female employees are found only in secretarial and clerical jobs.

The flour mill of Abidjan (*Le Grand moulin d'Abidjan*), one of the first factories created soon after independence, employs 344 male workers, but only six females, all of whom work in the administration section. Affiliated to the flour mill is another factory, CIPA, which manufactures chewing gum, candies and biscuits but does not have any women workers. Nevertheless, in CIPA there are many tasks which could easily be handled by women, such as mixing dough, inspection of finished products and packaging. Soap for washing and edible oil from palm oil are usually home made by women in the villages. Competing with these women is an important soap and oil manufacturing company in Abidjan, BLOHORN B.A., which has 900 workers, of whom only seven are female. The women are engaged in secretarial and clerical tasks, except for one women who is in charge of the company's laboratory.

CAPRAL and NOVALIM, affiliates of the Swiss Company of Nestle, have 450 workers each but no female workers are engaged in their highly mechanized factory work. CAPRAL specializes in coffee processing and the preparation of instant coffee. NOVALIM specializes in the production of Magi sauce cubes and a baby food known as "Cerelac".

Table 16

Occupational Distribution of Ivorian Women Employees

OCCUPATION	1971		1973-74		1979		1982	
	Female	Total	Female	Total	Female	Total	Female	Total
Management	366	2,574	330	5,789	345	3,300	200	3,026
Professional a technical staff	337	3,777	439	4,873	2,494	15,935	750	8,283
Supervisory personnel	826	5,867	1,237	7,423	2,222	15,705	2,013	13,975
Skilled white collar	2,171	9,433	1,929	23,125	2,536	40,751	3,384	19,118
Skilled white collar	586	12,103	214	4,373	3,451	168,863	1,198	20,131
Skilled Workers	249	14,633	60	5,553			387	30,541
Semi-skilled workers	230	28,070	993	39,495			1,022	43,540
Unskilled workers	283	54,990	695	76,382			2,993	58,209
Apprentices	42	863	15	563	6	446	2	504
Unspecified	41	130			1	36	-	-
TOTAL	5,031	132,260	5,912	167,576	11,055	245,036	12,039	197,227

The number of women employees is highest in the lower-level occupations and in the higher echelons (Table 16). However, it is interesting to note that from one year to the next, the number of higher level female employees is progressively increasing. Most women are found in secretarial or administrative jobs and not in the technical or management posts.

6. Reasons for women's low participation in the modern sector

The Ivorian modern sector, being mainly capital intensive and without significant inter-industry linkages, has not had a substantial employment generation capacity. For the few positions available, there has been keen competition between expatriates on the one hand and Ivorian men and women on the other. Given the capital intensive nature of the modern sector, which demands special skills and long experience to organize and manage it, the probabilities seem to be that expatriates get the first chance for employment, then Ivorian men and, lastly, Ivorian women. Private enterprises are, by definition, profit oriented and the main reasons that women are the last to be employed arise mainly from the attitudes of most employers in the private sector. They complain about (a) the high rate of absenteeism among women for various reasons, and (b) women's exemption by law from participating in night shifts.

In addition, the number of Ivorian women who graduate from technical and professional schools designed to prepare students for work in the modern sector of the economy is very insignificant. In higher education, Ivorian women tend to register for literature and law as opposed to science and technical subjects.[19]

A 1978 study of 5,000 male and female job applicants in Abidjan and the interior revealed that 80.6 per cent of the women applicants were without any professional training, while those with some training but without a diploma comprised 11.7 per cent.[20]

Furthermore, the present world economic crisis has forced Cote Ivoire factories to decrease the number of their employees and women have been particularly affected by this. Also, a substantial number of state owned companies have been shut down. Significantly, state owned companies were notable for employing women.

5. *The employment situation of Ivorian women in the public service*

The public service absorbs a relatively higher number of women than the modern private sector. Contrary to the situation in the private sector, where many top management and technical posts are occupied by foreigners, in the public service the implementation of the Ivorianisation policy is clearly visible as Ivorian nationals are in most posts.

The public service follows the law and applies no discrimination regarding sex, religion and other factors. Regarding women's employment, so long as the applicant possesses the necessary requirements there seems to be no difficulty in recruitment. But when it comes to promotion the situation is different. Preferences are usually given to men, even though a women may possess identical qualifications and experience.

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[19] *Commission nationale de la promotion feminine, Commission charge de l'education et de la formation feminine* (Abidjan, January 1977), p. 36.

[20] Koffi and Ampoh, *Employment of Women in the Cote d'Ivoire*, p. 26.

6. Women as entrepreneurs

The number of Ivorian women business owners is quite negligible. According to information obtained from the Ministry of Economy and Finance, ten years ago about 70 per cent of the firms in the country were owned by foreigners, mainly Europeans. In contrast, in 1982, the government held 52 per cent of all equity capital holdings in Ivorian industry and private Ivorians had 14 per cent. [21] From available statistics, it is not possible to identify Ivorian female entrepreneurs, but in the course of this study, it was possible to identify SAFICA (*Societe Africaine de Fabrication et d'Impression de Cahiers*) as a company whose majority shares are owned by a woman. SAFICA, which manufactures school supplies, was established in 1968 and employs 107 persons, of whom one third are women. Most of the women employees work in the sales department. There are also other enterprises owned and run by Ivorian women scattered throughout the country. Those women managers contacted stated that starting a company was not easy because of the competition with experienced foreigners and their male counterparts. Banks were not enthusiastic to give them loans because of traditional prejudices and because female industrial entrepreneurship was a new phenomenon. However, once their companies were established, and showed satisfactory performance, it was not difficult to obtain additional loans.

In conclusion, Ivorian women indirectly contribute to the modern sector while engaged in subsistence farming by releasing men to undertake such activities as the production of cotton, tobacco, coffee and cacao, or to pursue gainful employment in the modern sector. Ivorian women also contribute to the industrialization of their country directly as employees in both the private and public modern sectors. Some also own and manage private manufacturing enterprises.

7. The participation of Ivorian women in the informal sector

As in all developing countries, a good deal of economic activity takes place in the informal sector in the Cote d'Ivoire. Although exact figures are unavailable, a large number of women carry on retail trade in food, prepared dishes, beverages, fabrics and innumerable other items. They assist modern sector workers by selling food and drink near their work places. They also distribute manufactured goods to buyers in the urban areas and to otherwise inaccessibly situated rural dwellers.

A 1969 survey carried out in the town of Souake established that out of a total of 5,442 vendors of local goods and food products 79.7 per cent were women. At the same time in Abidjan, of those engaged in the retail sale of food products, prepared dishes and beverages, 51 per cent were women, and of 5,100 people selling nonfood items, 1,500 were women. 22

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[21] Chambre d'Industrie de Cote d'Ivoire, *L'industrie Ivoirienne en 1982, Liste des entreprises industrielles* (June 1983).

F. MEASURES TAKEN TO ENHANCE THE EFFECTIVE PARTICIPATION OF WOMEN IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE IVORY COAST

1. Government initiatives

The Government has long been aware of the need to strengthen the role of women in the development of the Cote d'Ivoire. In 1964, the Government enacted a Labour Code which included specific provisions regarding women workers:

(a) A women can join a labour union without her husband's permission and participate in its management and administration (Article 7).

(b) A married woman has the right to be a party to a conciliation proceeding, to appear before the labour court and defend a case (Article 164).

(c) A pregnant woman has, in addition to one months annual leave, 14 weeks consecutive maternity leave which could be extended by 3 weeks in case of complications arising from the pregnancy or delivery. During this period, she has the right to be reimbursed by the National Social Security Fund (*Caisse Nationale de Prevoyance Sociale*) for all her delivery expenses and medical treatment and will also be paid half of her salary. The employer will pay the other half (Article 102).

(d) For a period of 15 months, starting from delivery, the mother is entitled to be absent from work for about one hour each day to feed the baby (Article 103).

(e) Women shall have at least eleven hours rest every day, and shall not participate in night shifts.

Prior to the creation of the Ministry of Women's Affairs (Ministere de la Condition Feminine), policies to promote women's activities were adopted and implemented by various public and private organizations. As Government desired to deal with matters affecting women in a global manner, contrary to the prevailing practice of taking isolated actions in particular

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22 P. Castelle, *Ville de Bouake 1969, Resultats d'enquete*, p. 12.

sectors, it created the Ministry in March 1976. The creation of the Ministry, however, did not mean the centralization of all activities pertaining to women. Rather, one of the main objectives of the Ministry was to supplement efforts by public agencies and private initiatives and co-ordinate the various actions being undertaken on behalf of Ivorian women. Public agencies, including the Ministry for Youth, Popular Education and Sports, Ministry of Defence and the Ministry of Agriculture, continue to carry out their usual training programmes for women. The Ministry of Women's Affairs has the following goals:

(a) To study the legal, economic and social conditions affecting Ivorian women;

(b) To propose programmes to promote Ivorian women and her participation in the development efforts undertaken by the Government;

(c) To ensure the implementation of the said programmes directly or in collaboration with the other Ministries;

(d) To draw the attention of the public to the growing importance of the role of women in Ivorian society.

To this end, a consultative organ known as the National Commission for the Promotion of Women (*Commission Nationale pour la promotion des Femmes* °CNPF§) was created by decree on December 1975, in order to ensure close co-ordination between the different agencies and authorities in the definition and execution of policies for the promotion of women. Members of the commission include representatives from the Office of the President, the National Assembly, the Social and Economic Council, some Ministries and certain non-governmental organizations such as the Association of Ivorian Women.

The Ministry of Women's Affairs has established an information centre which has been producing television and radio programmes for women as well as an information bulletin. In order to see the day-to-day problems facing women and, thereby, formulate policies in their interest, the Minister of Women's Affairs undertook an extensive tour of all parts of the country and held talks with various groups of women. The results of these discussion enabled the Minister to propose a number of policy measures. One of the positive results of this action was the recent amendment to the civil code to the effect that women can now:

(a) Administer and run their property which was hitherto a prerogative of the husband;

(b) Take up any job without the husband's consent;

(c) Have their own bank accounts.

As a result of the Ministry's initiatives, three projects are now underway with the assistance of the United Nations Development Fund for Women, namely, pottery making, fish smoking and a tie-and-dye project. The projects are aimed at improving the quality, quantity and conditions of production through the introduction of appropriate technology. The pottery project is expected to help develop a pottery industry to increase the revenue of women potters in the region of Katiola.

In the fish smoking project, it is hoped that the new ovens erected in Ettnossika will produce a higher grade product that will last longer and travel better than that obtained from the traditional fish-smoking process. The ovens are fuel efficient and will accelerate the smoking process, making it less labour intensive. Thus women will have more time to devote to other tasks. Finally, the project will train women to operate the ovens themselves.

The objective of the women's tie-and-dye project in Bingerville is to establish a centre for training women in tie-dyeing, batik and block printing as well as to develop a sales co-operative to operate a local sales centre and an Abidjan marketing network. The project has started successfully and a co-operative fund has been established to buy the necessary materials for further training and sales.

2. Non-Governmental initiatives

(a) Association of Ivorian Women

The Association of Ivorian Women (*Association des femmes Ivoriennes* "AFIS), established in 1963, was the first non-governmental body set up to enhance the integration of women in the development of the country. In 1975, the Association of Ivorian Women became a section of the national political party. The main objective of the association is to contribute to the advancement of women's social progress in both urban and rural areas.

In 1969, the association established the Marie-Therese Houphouet-Boigny Institute for Adult Education where women are given lessons in home economics and primary education. The institute also has a clinic where child care lessons are given to mothers. Even though the association has tried to better the situation of women in the Cote d'Ivoire, financial constraints and lack of materials for the execution of programmes have hampered its activities.

(b) The General Union of Cote d'Ivoire Workers

The General Union of Cote d'Ivoire Workers, (*Union Generale des Travailleurs de Cote d'Ivoire* [UGTCI] was established in 1962 in order to eliminate disruptive competition between the four main labour unions.

Most professional or company unions are members of the UGTCI, and the fact that the central labour union is become a section of the ruling party, may sound unusual. Their approach of dialogue and negotiation, sometimes called "reasonable participation", is a necessary result of a labour union being in a country where the state plays a predominant role in the economic and social life. It is the state which makes the principle decisions and which is the most important employer.

Until 1969, Ivorian women were represented in the professional association of UGTCI as ordinary members, but not at the leadership level. In 1970, the Midwives' Association was created and headed by a woman. At the time of the study, six professional associations were led by women. After the May 1983 national congress of UGTCI, three women were placed on the executive committee of UGTCI. These women are also heads of professional associations.

UGTCI has a department, headed by a woman, responsible for women's affairs. The main objective of this department is to enable women to become active participants in the development of their country. The department's activities are to:

(a) Inform women about the labour legislation;

(b) Convince employers to put into practice the principle of equal pay for equal work, regardless of sex, religion or other factors;

(c) Ensure the provisions in the Labour Code regarding women workers are respected by all concerned bodies;

(d) Find ways to increase women's access to training programmes;

(e) Establish daycare centres in workplaces which have numbers ofwomen workers.

G. FUTURE PERSPECTIVES AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The Cote d'Ivoire so far has not taken any concrete preparatory steps with regard to the United Nations Industrial Development Decade for Africa, but most, if not all, the priority sectors of the Industrial Development Programme are in a relatively advanced stage of development in the Cote d'Ivoire. The country is also a member of several international organizations for international and subregional economic co-operation.

During what have been called Phases One, Two and Three of the Industrial development of the Cote d'Ivoire, the emphasis, generally, has moved from import substitution to export production and finally, according to the 1981-1985 plan, the accent for the next ten years will be on:

(a) Reinforcement of the existing industrial structure at the same time ensuring the reduction of external dependence;

(b) Gradual reduction of direct state participation in industrial development;

(c) Encouragement of industries using local raw materials and labour;

(d) High priority attention to the development of small scale and medium scale industrial enterprises, thereby ensuring improved regional distribution of income.

According to the Ministry of Industry, it is now realized that, because of protectionist tendencies in countries where Ivorian goods are usually sold, the reduction of public investment and the structural similarities between Ivorian industry and that of the ECOWAS countries, there is a need to reexamine the plan and adopt some short and long term measures. It seems, therefore, that without totally abandoning the industrial strategy set out in the 1981-1985 plan, the Cote Ivoire intends to reorient the direction of some of its industrial policy in areas in which it has more comparative advantages.

Therefore, the Cote d'Ivoire plans to encourage:

(a) The integration of existing industries, for example the timber industry with the construction and furniture industries;

(b) The reduction of exportation of raw materials in favour of local transformation;

(c) The reinforcement of the integration of the industrial sector with the other sectors, for example developing industrial activities which aid agricultural production;

(d) The study and implementation of ways of improving product quality as well as reducing costs;

(e) Excellence in certain technological fields such as microelectronics.

Under the new reorientation of the industrialization strategy, it seems that more job creating industries will be established, thus widening the chances for women's increased participation in the industrial development of the Cote d'Ivoire. In specific terms, the Government proposes to stress the development of agro-industry, to enlarge the textile industry, to develop a pharmaceutical industry and to create a construction materials industry using local raw materials.

In addition, it must be remembered that Ivorian industry employs not only Europeans and other non-Africans, but also a significant number of workers from other African countries. According to the *Banque des donnees financieres*, in 1982 there were 70,835 non-Ivorian employees in the modern private sector. In the past, Ivorianization meant only Ivorianization of higher rank administrative and management staff. However, under the new policy, all levels of employment should be filled, where possible, by Ivorians. A strict application of this policy means not only limiting the recruitment of new personnel from abroad, but also the non-renewal of all expatriate employment contracts whenever their jobs could properly be filled by Ivorians, male or female. This, in turn, means a large number of jobs will, in the near future, be opened in the industrial sector of the economy.

Moreover, the Ivorian Government believes that the promotion of small and medium scale enterprises will encourage the emergence of indigenous entrepreneurs and help economic development in different parts of the country. 23

A Committee called the Interministerial Committee of Cottage Industry and Small and Medium Scale Enterprise has been established to ensure the rational utilization of the various policy instruments adopted for the promotion of such enterprises. The Centre for the Assistance and Promotion of National Enterprises (*Centre pour l'Assistance et la Promotion des Entreprises Nationales*, "CAPEN") ensures the preparation of suitable projects and provides advice and assistance to interested persons. The Government has also established other entities which will provide financial assistance at concessional rates.

With a view to improving the overall working environment of small and medium scale enterprises, the Government is including provisions in the Investment Code favourable to small and medium scale enterprises; designing measures to facilitate access of small scale enterprises to public market places; improving conditions for obtaining land in industrial zones; and modifying the tax structure of small and medium scale enterprises. 24

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23 Ministere du Plan, *Plan Quinquennial de Developpement Economique, Social et Culturel 1981-1985*, Tome II, pp. 605 - 607.

24 *Ibid.*, Tome I, pp. 165-166.

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Such planned measures will encourage male and female Ivorians to participate in industrial development by becoming either owners or managers of small scale and medium scale enterprises.

However, Ivorian women's inadequate representation in the modern sector is not necessarily dictated only by lack of job opportunities or or of entrepreneurial or managerial aspirations. There are, various obstacles. For example, between 1986-1990, the demand for skilled labour will increase but there will still be a total of about 60,000 surplus trained people. Women will have to compete for available jobs, and the likelihood is that many trained women will not find employment.

The indispensable role women can play in the economic development of developing countries has not been properly understood until very recently. This misconception of the useful role women can play in every aspect of development has, in the Cote d'Ivoire, led society in general, the family and even women themselves, to believe that there is a limit to the extent to which women can participate in the industrial development process of their country. This unfortunate belief has prevented many women from even gaining an education and many others from pursuing any course which seemed outside the traditionally accepted role for women.

In the Cote d'Ivoire, this state of affairs is bound to continue for a long time unless the whole society, and particularly the Government, takes drastic measures to inculcate the right attitude into the minds of the family and especially the youth.

IV. NIGERIA: WOMEN AND INDUSTRIALIZATION IN ANGLOPHONE WEST AFRICA

by Eleanor R. Fapohunda

INTRODUCTION

During the 1970's Nigeria based its development strategy primarily on a programme of modern sector import substitution financed by revenues generated from the sale of petroleum in the world market. Often these modern sector industries did not meet the basic needs of the general population but rather produced foreign oriented consumer goods for the elite. Such a strategy entailed the extensive importation of raw materials capital equipment and skilled manpower from industrialized economies. As a result, the Nigerian economy became increasingly dependent on the international economy and vulnerable to changing external economic forces. Moreover, the stimulative linkage effects of the modern sector substitution industries as well as employment generation potential were limited. After 1975, the Nigerian development strategy was no longer tenable as Nigeria's external reserve position deteriorated reflecting a decline in world crude prices and a curtailment of domestic production. [1]

Subsequently, the Nigerian Government, both as the author of its Fourth National Development Plan, 1981-1985 and as a signatory to the Lagos Plan of Action, 1981, emphasized the need for internally generated self sustaining growth based on indigenous natural and human resources. In other words, national economic growth was to be based on self reliance and self initiative. The Nigerian Government also continued to acknowledge the importance of industrial development as a potent force for economic growth and as a participant at the Lagos Economic Summit adopted the years 1980-1990 as the Industrial Development Decade for Africa.

Since self-reliance implies the mobilization of people, African governments during the Industrial Development Decade are to pay special attention to the development of industrial and technological manpower of various skill levels which would be capable of planning, implementing, operating and maintaining the necessary industrial projects.

In the National Development Plans of Nigeria, the most populated and industrialized sub-Saharan African country, women have not been explicitly considered as a particular category of productive human resource for planning purposes and, therefore, their employment problems have not been explicitly considered.[2] This omission may either reflect the underestimated contribution of women to the Nigerian economy, and/or the tacit assumption by planners that the life cycle and work behaviour patterns of the two sexes are basically similar.

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[1] United Nations Industrial Development Organization, *A Programme for the Industrial Development Decade for Africa* (United Nations: 1982), p. 82.

[2] Within the last year, however, the Federal Military Government has set up a committee on Women and Development.

However, if the Industrial Development Decade Programme is to be successful in Nigeria in the sense that all human resources are fully mobilized for self reliant growth, then planners must develop forward looking strategies to promote the equitable participation of women in the industrial restructuring of the Nigerian economy. Moreover, for many Nigerian women, personal income generating activities are important for their families' well-being. Contrary to public opinion, many Nigerian women are the primary income earners of their families as a result of migration, marital disruption or death. Also, in many polygamous families, the working mothers are the *de facto* heads of household. The percentage of female headed households varies significantly by state in the federation from 24 per cent among urban Ondo households to one per cent among the Gongola urban households.[3]

Even in situations where Nigerian husbands make substantial contributions to household expenses, it is often expected that the wives will be independently responsible for certain expenditures, such as children's clothing.[4] Moreover, during the current inflation, a husband's income, especially in urban areas, may be insufficient to adequately maintain his family. The importance of Nigerian policies to promote women's participation in the industrialization process gains additional significance when it is realized that Nigerian women constituted over half of the economically active female population of West Africa in 1975.[5] The purposes of this chapter are, therefore the following:

(1) to consider in a short and long term timeframe the socioeconomic factors that hinder the equitable participation of Nigerian women in the industrialization process;

(2) to analyse the factors that limit the participation of women in the designated priority industrial subsectors of the Industrialization Development Decade Programme. In this regard, this chapter will focus on

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[3] Federal Office of Statistics, Social_Statistics_in_Nigeria (Lagos:_1980), pp. 8-9.

[4] Eleanor R. Fapohunda, "Characteristics of Women Workers in Lagos: Data for Reconsideration by Labour Market Theorists" Labour_and_Society, Vol. 3, No.2, p.166.

[5] International Labour Organization, Yearbook_of_Labour Statistics (Geneva: 1978), pp 18-14.

the food processing industry, the textile industry, and the chemical industry;

(3) to examine whether modern imported technologies have caused traditional female income generating activities such as food processing and textiles to become increasingly male employment generating activities;

(4) to consider the role that social institutions such as Government, trade unions and voluntary agencies may play in encouraging women's industrial participation;

(5) to evaluate different employment creation strategies for Nigerian women in industry.

Part One: MACRO LEVEL ISSUES INFLUENCING NIGERIAN WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION IN THE INDUSTRIALIZATION PROCESS

A. THE PATTERN OF NIGERIAN INDUSTRIALIZATION

1. Industrialization Policy in Nigeria

Prior to the late 1950's there was limited industrialization since the British Colonial Administration was primarily interested in extracting raw materials from Nigeria and in turn importing British products into the country. As independence approached, the British started to encourage the development of import substitution industries in an attempt to prevent their future exclusion from the Nigerian market by post independence protectionist policies.

Since independence, Nigeria's development strategy has continued to emphasize the development of import substitution industries and the processing of raw materials for export. Originally, the processed raw materials were mainly agricultural products, such as rice and palm oil, but by the 1970's, the emphasis shifted to petroleum. Oil exports, which only accounted for 10 per cent of total export earnings in 1962, had risen to 82.7 per cent by 1973. [6] Subsequently, petroleum sales became the main source of Government revenue and Nigeria became a net importer of agricultural products.

Initially, the Nigerian manufacturing industry was dominated by low technology industries that manufactured nondurable consumer items such as food, beverages and tobacco. Although in the second half of the 1970's there was a rapid expansion of high technology consumer durable goods industries such as vehicle assembly, television, radio, air-conditioner and refrigerator assembly. In the immediate post independence period, food, beverages and tobacco contributed about a third of the value added in manufacturing.

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[6] O. Teriba, E.C. Edozien and M.O. Kayode, The Structure of Manufacturing Industry in Nigeria (Ibadan, Ibadan University Press: 1981), p. 19.

By 1972, food processing and textiles, the two most elementary subsectors in manufacturing, contributed more than 51 per cent of the value added. 7 Moreover, between 1973-1975, textiles became the largest employer in manufacturing. Over 23 per cent of the total manufacturing labour force were in textile mills. Generally, these manufacturing industries were characterized by a low level of mechanized technology as well as a high proportion of imported raw materials. Between 1973-1975, over 60 per cent of all raw materials were imported. 8 Nigeria was virtually dependent on the importation of capital goods, spare parts and accessories.

During the 1970's, manufacturing had a relatively high growth rate in constant prices. Between 1970-1973, the annual average growth rate was 11.5 per cent, but between 1974 and 1978 it rose to 15.6 per cent. However, the manufacturing sector's contribution to Gross Domestic Product has continued to be less than 10 per cent. The sector's small contribution to GDP can be explained by the following:

(a) Low base from which sector took off at independence;

(b) Competition for productive resources (entrepreneurship, capital and labour) from other activities such as distribution which offered higher short term returns to effort and capital;

(c) Poor infrastructure (irregular water and electricity supply);

(d) Lack of skilled professional, managerial and technical manpower;

(e) Weak indigenous raw materials base;

(f) Strong competition from imports particularly those smuggled.

(g) Institutional and administrative bottlenecks. 9

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7 Teriba *et al.*, "Manufacturing Industry," p. 22.

8 Federal Republic of Nigeria, Federal Ministry of National Planning, *Fourth National Development Plan*, (Lagos, National Planning Office, 1981), pp. 138, 140.

9 *Ibid.*, p. 106, 136.

Historically, Government industrialization policies have tended to emphasize the role of private investors, particularly foreign investors. However, public sector investments in manufacturing increased substantially in the 1970's, due to the rapid growth in Government revenue from petroleum. The Federal Government encouraged private sector manufacturing by providing tax holidays, import duty reliefs on raw materials and accelerated depreciation. The Government also developed industrial estates to provide conducive physical environments.

The import substitution strategy has been criticized by planners and economists as being undesirable on a number of grounds. First, private sector manufacturing firms in many cases have been net users, not savers of foreign exchange. The major foreign exchange users in 1970 were foreign owned companies suggesting that foreign ownership encouraged input purchases from parent companies, employment of foreign personnel and the repatriation of dividends.10 Secondly, the Government's fiscal policies have encouraged manufacturing techniques in Nigeria to be highly capital intensive. Therefore, the manufacturing employment growth rate has lagged behind the manufacturing output growth rate. Thirdly, manufacturing activity has been located in a limited number of urban areas, such as Lagos. It can be argued, therefore, that the predominantly urban based industrialisation has contributed to the worsening of urban unemployment in the 1970's by "simultaneously creating some relatively highly paid urban jobs and, thereby, inducing rural-urban migration". Fourthly, the policy lead to inefficient economic development by causing factor and product price distortions. Finally, the Nigerian economy became increasingly dependent on changing circumstances in foreign economies. During the 1970's, the Federal Military Government increased its intervention into the functioning of the domestic economy. As stated, the Government established an incentive programme to encourage private sector investments. Also, the Government issued regulations concerning company operations and, by decree, changed the organization and practice of industrial relations. The Government also gradually increased its intervention in the economy by expanding its investments in public corporations, by monopolising public utilities, increasing regulation of private investors' activities and gradually enlarging its equity ownership in strategic sectors of the economy such as oil.11

The Nigerian Civil War of 1967-1970 induced a distrust of foreign investors in the society and strengthened public demand for economic independence. At the close of the war, multinational companies, controlling practically every strategic

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10 Bright U. Ekuerhare, "The Impact of Nigeria's Industrial Policy under the Military Government 1966-1979", in The Nigerian Economy under the Military Government, Proceedings of the 1980 Annual Conference of the Nigerian Economic Society, p. 204.

11 Ibid., p.212.

sector of the economy, had substantial political influence.12 Therefore, the Federal Military Government promulgated the Nigerian Enterprises Promotion Decree of 1972, the first indigenization decree, and, later, the Nigerian Enterprises Promotion Decree of 1977. Basically, the purposes of these decrees were to increase Nigerian participation and control of the economy by reserving certain enterprises exclusively for Nigerian nationals, by prohibiting alien participation in other enterprises unless a minimum Nigerian equity participation existed and by determining the minimum Nigerian equity ownership for a third category of firms.13 In implementing the decrees, equity shares were offered for sale to the public. The Federal and State Governments also bought equity interests in various enterprises. The promulgation of these decrees lead indirectly to a pattern of increasing state intervention in the economy. However, recently, the Federal Military Government has announced its intention of divesting itself of private company ownership and of offering equity shares to the public in Government corporations.

The indigenization decrees did broaden the Nigerian employment market by creating new partnerships and joint ventures, increasing managerial vacancies created by departing aliens and, finally, by developing new manpower training programmes. Yet, a fundamental issue remaining is that many commercial and manufacturing enterprises are still indirectly controlled by foreign interests as Nigerians are often distrustful of each other, lack necessary managerial or technical skills and, at times, act as fronts for foreign interests.14 Less than two per cent of the manufacturing labour force is made up of foreigners. Yet this small group includes most technical and managerial expertise.15

Despite the indigenization programme, the Nigerian economy continued in the late 1970's on a path of unbalanced industrial development. Manufacturing continued to focus on consumer oriented items, while neglecting strategic capital and intermediate industries such as basic industrial chemicals, fertilizers and pesticides. (See Table 17).

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12 Akinade O. Sanda, _The_Challenge_of_Nigeria's_Indigenization (Ibadan, Nigerian Institute of Social and Economic Research: 1982, p.9.

13 Ibid., p.60.

14 Ibid., p. 84.

15 Fourth_National_Development_Plan, p. 39.

Table 17

Performance Indicators of Nigerian Industry by Subsectors, 1978 (Percentages)

	Consumer Goods	Intermediate Goods	Capital Goods
No. of establishments	61.6	21.3	17.1
No. of persons employed	64.0	19.5	16.5
Gross output	46.4	27.6	24.6
Value added	53.4	27.5	19.9

Source: Calculated from Federal Office of Statistics, *Industrial Survey of Nigeria, 1978*.

Also, the capital goods sector was dominated by three main subgroups. These were metal furniture and fixtures, structural metal products and fabricated metal products. These three subsectors, in 1978, accounted for 8.5 per cent of the total manufacturing value added and 10.1 per cent of the manufacturing employment. The real engineering industries, that is industrial and agricultural machinery, accounted for only 6.9 per cent of the total manufacturing value added and 3.3 per cent of total manufacturing employment in the same year.16

Furthermore, the consumer oriented industries were clustered near ports to have access to imported raw materials or around a few high population density centres. Such industries aimed at capturing domestic markets, rather than generating export earnings. Such a development was made possible by the vastness of the Nigerian market coupled with foreign exchange earnings from foreign petroleum sales.

In the 1981 Fourth National Development Plan, the Government stated that it regarded ".... industrialisation as an essential part of the total national effort required to achieve a greater degree of self-reliance and self sustained growth."17 The manufacturing sector's development was to be encouraged by both public and private efforts. The public sector investments were largely to be confined to those areas where private sector initiatives had failed to respond or were responding too slowly. Such public sector investments were to be undertaken on a

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16 Ekuerhare and Anthony Ihnoma, "Capital Goods Industry," *loc. cit.*, p. 10.

17 *Fourth National Development Plan*, p. 141.

commercial basis and as much as possible in co-operation with private interests. The main objectives for the manufacturing sector in the Fourth Plan period, 1981-1985, were to:

1) Ensure an increased level of self reliance in the supply of industrial products;

2) Increase the local material and labour content of manufacturing output;

3) Increase employment opportunities;

4) Maintain rapid growth of the manufacturing sector with a view to increasing its share in the gross domestic product to a minimum of 12 per cent;

5) Promote a more even dispersal of industries;

6) Promote the development of export industries;

7) Increase the contribution of small scale industries to the value added in the manufacturing sector.

The Government emphasized the last item because small scale businesses will be the main sources of employment generation given the capital intensive nature of modern manufacturing. In 1980, for example, 82 per cent of employment in the non-agriculture sector was in small-scale enterprises.18 Moreover, such small scale enterprises supply the basic needs of the population and use to a larger extent indigenous raw materials than modern sector industries.

During the plan period, special emphasis was to be given to the agro-based and food processing industries to reduce both post harvest losses and food importation, the building material industry, engineering and transport industry, petro-chemicals, iron and steel. All of these industries are also core industries in the Industrial Development Decade for Africa Programme.

Unfortunately, the Fourth National Development Plan was adversely affected by a world wide slump in oil demand, forcing prices to fall substantially since 1981. It should be stressed that in 1981 oil revenue constituted over 70 per cent of the Nigerian Government's revenue. As a result, the Presidential Enabling Bill was passed into law in April 1982 to reduce imports and conserve foreign exchange. The legislated austerity measures led to a shortage of or an increased difficulty in obtaining raw materials required for production. Even if demand for manufactured goods is currently high, production has declined leading to increased unemployment among modern sector workers. During 1982-1983, Government registered unemployment has been steadily

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18 __Ibid.__, p. 140.

rising reflecting private sector retrenchments. In September 1982, unemployment was 19,131 but by a year later it had risen to 32,068.[19] These figures underestimate the rising level of unemployment, as the statistics do not include university graduates or those who have not registered with the Government. To alleviate these structural unemployment problems, new domestic sources of materials must be discovered and commercially exploited, or the nature of existing manufactured products must be changed to reflect local raw material availability.

2. Evolution of Nigerian Industrial Relations Policies

After independence, the Nigerian Government continued the industrial relations policies introduced by the British colonial administration. Trades unions were recognized as legal institutions (Trade Unions Act of 1938), but little was done to enforce employer recognition or to remedy structural weaknesses. The unions were primarily small private sector company based unions with limited finances, run by officials who had multiple interests, limited education and often engaged in fraudulent practices. Such unions had limited expertise in collective bargaining negotiations. The Nigerian Government, in policy pronouncements, continued to support the British policy of voluntarism. According to this policy, employers and representatives of workers were best informed about conditions in their industry; therefore, wages and working conditions should be determined principally by collective negotiations. Trades disputes were also primarily to be solved through negotiations by the two parties. However, the two parties could voluntarily ask the Government to help settle the dispute through a voluntary conciliation or nonbinding arbitration procedure. (Trades Disputes Arbitration and Inquiry Ordinance, 1941). In practice, however, even within the public sector wages were not determined by collective bargaining, but rather by periodic wage tribunals.

Although the Nigerian Government adhered to the principles of voluntarism, it did try to protect certain vulnerable categories of workers, such as women and children, against serious employer abuses. The independent Government first continued the provisions of the Labour Code Ordinance, 1945 and later issued Labour Decree No. 21 of 1974 which covered all workers in establishments having 10 or more workers. The Labour Decree provides maternity protection for female workers and regulates both night work and underground work by women. It grants a pregnant women the right to maternity leave on production of a medical certificate six weeks before and six weeks after confinement. If a female employee has been in continuous employment for a period of six months or more immediately prior to such as absence, she is entitled to pay at not less than 50 per cent of her normal wages. The Labour Decree also stipulates that a nursing female employee is entitled to half an hour free time twice daily for this purpose. Finally, the Labour Decree states that no women shall be employed for night work except for nurses and management personnel.20

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[19] Business Times (January 1984), p.24.

Historically, the Nigerian Government has increasingly intervened in the industrial relations process. During the Civil War, the Federal Military Government first abrogated the principle of voluntarism in order to maintain war effort production by issuing the Trade Dispute (Emergency Provisions) Decree No. 21 of 1968 and the amending Trade Disputes (Emergency Provisions (No.2)) Decree, No. 53 of 1969. These decrees, seen primarily at the time as emergency measures, established a required procedure for reporting and officially dealing with disputes. If a dispute existed, the parties were obligated to meet within seven days to resolve the dispute. If no agreement was reached within the period, the Commissioner for Labour had to be informed and he, at his discretion, could handle the problem by conciliation, arbitration or inquiry procedures. A decision, once confirmed by the Commissioner, was binding on the two parties. The 1969 amendment emasculated the right to strike or lockout and established a permanent Industrial Arbitration Tribunal whose decisions, once confirmed by the Commissioner, were final and binding.

Subsequently, the Federal Military Government became increasingly committed to planned economic development with stated policy goals. To establish and meet these priorities, the Government needed labour and management representation on advisory boards as well as production relatively undisrupted by trades disputes, especially in essential services. The Trades Disputes Decree of 1976, a peacetime measure, detailed a required time tabled procedure for dispute settlement which in its later stages called for binding arbitration without strikes. This degree constituted a fundamental departure from the principle of freedom to strike, an essential element of the British system of collective bargaining. The arbitration award initially decided by an industrial arbitration panel could be appealed to a National Industrial Court.

The Government further tried to regulate the industrial relations process by issuing the Trade Dispute (Essential Services) Decree, 1976 which empowers the Government to proscribe any trade union or association of essential service workers if the organization engages in activities that disrupt essential services or are calculated to cause labour unrest. The purpose of the decree was also to ban strikes and lockouts in defined essential services.

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20 Federal Government of Nigeria, Labour Decree No. 21, 1974, Article 86, Section 53; Article 86, Section 53.

The Federal Military Government not only attempted to regulate the industrial relations process, but also to reform the structural characteristics of its institutions for national development purposes. For example, the Trade Union Decree No. 31 of 1973 required employer recognition of unions, instituted a larger basic membership for union registration, improved union finances by instituting check off and limited multiunion activities by officials. Later, the Trade Unions (Amendment) Decree No. 22 of 1978 institutionalized and legalized a compulsory restructuring of all trade unions into 42 large national industrial unions. In effect, all workers in establishments having 10 or more workers became automatic members of one of these 42 unions. Employers were required to automatically deduct union dues from workers' payrolls unless workers informed them in writing that they did not want to be union members and, therefore, their dues should not be deducted. In addition, collective bargaining was no longer to be concluded primarily at the enterprise level. National negotiations were to lead to greater uniformity of collective agreements.

In conclusion, it should be pointed out that the Government has had a major impact on modern sector industrial relations not only because of its increasing legal activities, but, also, because the Government has been the chief employer of modern sector wage labour. Since 1970, the relative importance of the private modern sector in generating employment has increased to an appreciable extent. Still, it was estimated that during the late 1970's Government generated 65 per cent of the modern sector employment.21

3. Structure of the Nigerian Manufacturing Industry

The Nigerian manufacturing industry consists of a modern sector and a small business or informal sector. Modern sector workers are employed in capital intensive manufacturing enterprises using imported technologies. These enterprises may be Western multinational subsidiaries, Government corporations, indigenous Nigerian enterprises, or third world multinationals' subsidiaries. The majority of the western multinational subsidiaries are now Nigerian owned due to the indigenization decrees. Traditionally, such companies follow western management practices and procedures. The indigenous enterprises are often family businesses employing relatives in top management positions. The management style is still paternalistic, and unionization is hardly tolerated. The modern sector manufacturing industries primarily produce goods for the urban elite using essentially imported raw materials. Workers in modern sector manufacturing are relatively highly educated in the formal

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21 Federal Republic of Nigeria, Federal Ministry of National Planning, *Third National Development Plan* (Lagos: 1975), p. 370.

educational system. Modern sector industrial workers are relatively highly paid as they are often unionized and protected by federal labour legislation. Also, modern sector enterprises are encouraged by protective or preferential Government policies and can afford to pay higher wages and fringe benefits. Modern sector workers follow patterns of fixed work days at establishments often far from their residence.

The informal or small business manufacturing sector includes small family manufacturing enterprises employing 10 or fewer workers, co-operatives as well as individual craftsmen. Approximately two out of every five enterprises in the Lagos informal sector engage in manufacturing.22

This sector primarily manufactures and sells to the vast low income population. The enterprises often use indigenous materials and labour intensive technologies. "Modern" informal sector enterprises manufacture goods which may be considered as substitutes for those produced in the modern sector such as wood and metal products. These enterprises usually require a higher capitalization and employ more workers than more traditional informal sector activities. Generally, informal sector enterprises are in a very competitive market due to ease of entry.

Such establishments are not often registered with nor regulated by the Government. Most informal sector manufacturing concerns are single proprietorships. Many are located in structures that form part of residential units.23 In contrast to registered modern sector enterprises, informal sector enterprises do not have ready access to the formal capital market. For example, Fatunla, in studying 92 small scale Lagos industries, found that over 50 per cent were financed by personal savings or profit and 18.5 per cent were financed from relatives' savings.24 Of the sample, slightly over 1.4 per cent received loans through commercial banks. Significantly, the firms that received the bank loans were located in urban areas of the State and had high capitalization.

In this regard, it is analytically useful to divide small scale industries into three capitalization catego
Category 1 includes cottage or craft industries whose

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22 O. J. Fapohunda, The_Informal_Sector_of_Lagos:_An_Inq
into_Urban_Poverty_and_Employment (Lagos; Human Resour
Research Unit, University of Lagos, 1978), p. 37.

23 Ibid., p.10, 37, 43.

24 Julius Adegboyega Fatunla, "Financing Small Scale Industries in Nigeria: A Case Study of Lagos State", a paper submitted to the Department of Economics in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of B.Sc. Honours (Economics) of the University of Lagos, June 1981, p.38.

capitalization is not above N500.00. Category 2, medium small scale industries, consists of enterprises whose present capitalization is not above Naira 10,000.[25] Category 3, Lagos small scale industries, consists of firms whose capital is not above N150,000. Most of the Lagos firms that received bank loans were at least in category 2. Generally, small scale industrial enterprises are not able to get bank loans because they are unregistered, do not maintain business accounts or operate bank accounts, lack collateral securities and fail to have feasibility studies. None of the small firms in the Lagos sample survey received any loans from the Lagos State Ministry of Trade and Industry between 1976-1980, although the state did disburse to 15 firms N672,000. These loans were mainly to "modern" informal sector industries that had high capitalizations. The vast majority of the sampled Lagos small scale firms listed finance as their major problem.[26]

In informal sector manufacturing establishments, both proprietors and employees have restricted educational backgrounds. In a 1976 study of 2074 heads of Lagos small scale industries, 11 per cent had no education; 32 per cent had only formal education, 13 per cent had apprenticeship education and 41 per cent had both some formal and informal education. The vast majority of those claiming formal education indicated only some primary school education.[27] The majority of informal sector employees have mainly acquired their skills outside the formal system of education through apprenticeship training. The limited educational backgrounds of both proprietors and employees adversely affects the profitable functioning of these enterprises, product quality and the development of innovative small scale technologies.

In the competitive labour market of the informal sector industrial workers' incomes are generally low and frequently irregular. These workers are neither unionized are they protected by labour legislation.

The modern industrial sector and the informal industrial sector are not completely distinct, but are linked by flows of inputs, finished products and labour. In 1976, for example, a Lagos sample survey showed that about 1.4 per cent of informal sector enterprises sold finished products to the formal sector and 17 per cent of the small scale industries purchased some inputs from the formal sector.[28] Moreover, in Southern Nigeria, women often work in modern sector factories in order to accumulate capital to engage in informal sector income generating activities.

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[25] As of November 1985 the official exchange rate was 0.92 Naira = US$1.00.

[26] Fatunla, "Financing Small Scale Industries," pp. 8-40.

[27] O.J. Fapohunda, "Informal Sector", p. 66.

[28] **Ibid.**, p.42.

B. SOCIOECONOMIC FACTORS AFFECTING THE PARTICIPATION OF NIGERIAN WOMEN IN THE INDUSTRIALIZATION PROCESS

1. Model of Factors Influencing Women's Participation in the Modern Industrial Sector

The number of Nigerian women in the modern industrial sector will increase as industrialization proceeds, but probably at a substantially slower growth rate than male employment. This increase may be due to a growing demand for "women's jobs" or a gradual equalization of employment opportunities. Consequently, two distinct issues arise in considering barriers to women's equitable participation in the modern industrial sector. First, what are the socioeconomic factors in general that determine women's participation in the modern sector industrialization process? Second, what are the enterprise level variables that hinder or encourage women's entrance into particular core industries at various occupational levels? The second section of this chapter will consider the latter issue.

At the macro level, socioeconomic factors affect both the demand for and the supply of women's modern sector industrial labour.[29]

For analytical purposes, Figure 1 outlines the interaction of dynamic external and internal influences that determine female participation in the industrialization process.

Fundamentally, the desire or the ability of a woman to seek modern industrial employment is influenced by the characteristics of the social system. Traditionally, societies have defined different roles for the sexes of developed ideologies to sanction appropriate gender behaviour. The socially defined duties, responsibilities and acceptable behaviour of a women as a wife, mother or relative may either encourage, limit or preclude modern sector industrial employment. Socially defined roles, also, determine the appropriateness of certain occupations for women. At times, however, these restrictions change under economic pressures, such as wars or male migration.

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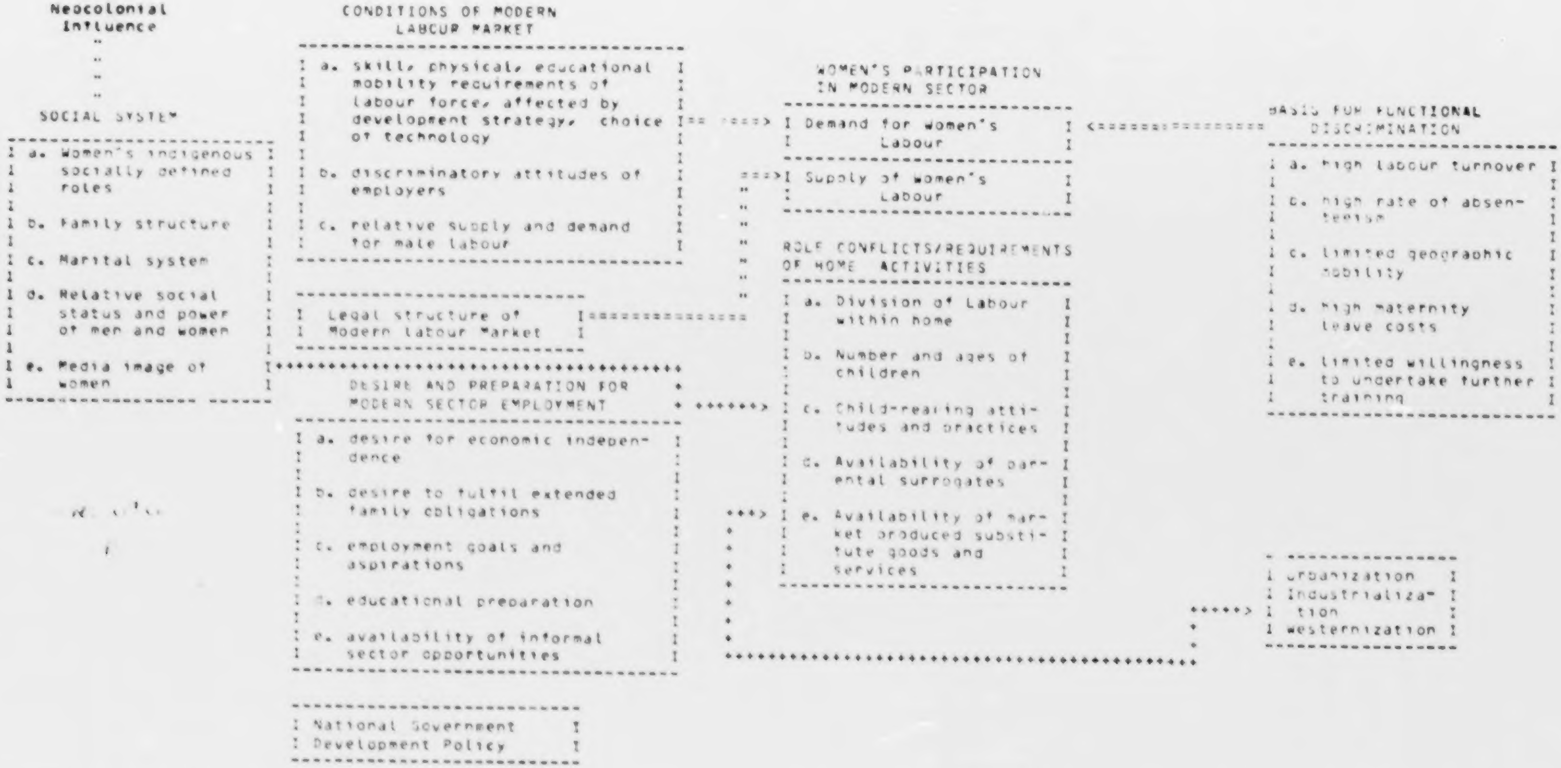
[29] This section draws on an earlier essay by Eleanor R. Fapohunda, "Women at work in Nigeria: Factors Affecting Modern Sector Employment" in U.G. Damachi and V.P. Diejomoah, editors, *Human Resources and African Development* (New York: Praeger Special Studies, 1978), pp. 220-241.

Figure 1

FACTORS AFFECTING THE LEVEL OF WOMEN'S EMPLOYMENT IN THE MODERN INDUSTRIAL SECTOR


Neocolonial Influence
SOCIAL SYSTEM
a. Women's indigenous socially defined roles
b. Family structure
c. Marital system
d. Relative social status and power of men and women
e. Media image of women
CONDITIONS OF MODERN LABOUR MARKET
a. skill, physical, educational mobility requirements of labour force, affected by development strategy, choice of technology
b. discriminatory attitudes of employers
c. relative supply and demand for male labour
Legal structure of Modern Labour Market
DESIRE AND PREPARATION FOR MODERN SECTOR EMPLOYMENT
a. desire for economic independence
b. desire to fulfil extended family obligations
c. employment goals and aspirations
d. educational preparation
e. availability of informal sector opportunities
National Government Development Policy
WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION IN MODERN SECTOR
Demand for women's Labour
Supply of women's Labour
ROLE CONFLICTS/REQUIREMENTS OF HOME ACTIVITIES
a. Division of Labour within home
b. Number and ages of children
c. Child-rearing attitudes and practices
d. Availability of parental surrogates
e. Availability of market produced substitute goods and services
BASIS FOR FUNCTIONAL DISCRIMINATION
a. high labour turnover
b. high rate of absenteeism
c. limited geographic mobility
d. high maternity leave costs
e. limited willingness to undertake further training
urbanization
industrialization
westernization

Source : Adapted from Eleanor R. Fapohunda "Women at work in Nigeria : Factors Affecting Modern Sector Employment " in U.G. Damanchi & V.P. Diejomaoh, **Human Resources and African Development** (New York: Praeger Publishers ,1978), P.224.

Generally, it is a Nigerian women's duty to cook for her husband, keep house and raise the children. Yet, the nature of wife's obligations differs and the definition of appropriate behaviour varies depending on the ethnic and religious groups to which she belongs. For example, according to the religious practices of urban Hausa Muslims in Northern Nigeria, a women's place is in the seclusion of her husband's compound fulfilling her domestic duties. The dominant ideology, sanctioned by religious and political institutions, stresses that women need male care and protection.30

In a marriage of complete seclusion, an elite Hausa woman depends on children or male relatives to do her marketing and to sell her home processed goods. Therefore, in a Northern city like Kano, the overwhelming majority of small scale businesses (89 per cent) are run by males.31 The practice of *purdah* places a double limitation on the income generating activities of these women. They are excluded from modern industrial wage employment, and they lack the opportunities to develop skills which would enable them to supply the demands of urban industrial workers in small scale home enterprises.32

In contrast, Yoruba women of Southern Nigeria were traditionally responsible for providing some of the basic economic needs of their children and themselves. These women, in addition to labouring on their husband's farm, were free to grow their own each crops, engage in crafts or undertake trading activities. Therefore, women's industrial labour force participation is likely to be much higher in predominantly Yoruba cities like Lagos than in Hausa cities like Zaria. For example, in 1983 a cosmetic manufacturing companyhad 364 female workers in its Lagos factory,

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30 Enid Schildkrout "Independence and Autonomy: The Economic Activities of Secluded Hausa Women in Kano" in Christine Oppong, editor, *Female and Male in West Africa*, (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1983) p. 109.

31 A.L. Mabogunje and M.O. Flani, "The Informal Sector in a Small City: The Case of Kano (Nigeria) in S.V. Sethuraman, ed., *The Urban Informal Sector in Developing Countries: Employment, Poverty and Environment* (Geneva: International Labour Office, 1981), p. 84.

32 Dorothy Caroline Remy Weeks, "Adaptive Strategies of men and women in Zaria, Nigeria: Industrial Workers and their Wives" dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Anthropology, University of Michigan, 1973, p.3.

33 Beryl B. Opukiri, "The Effects of Recession on Employment Patterns in the Modern Cosmetics Industry," a paper submitted to the Department of Economics, University of Lagos in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of B. Sc. Honours (Economics), 1983-1984, p. 37.

but no female employees in its Zaria plant.33

Nigerian women belong to both conjugal units and extended families. These extended family units provide some measure of social security and encourage co-operative undertakings. The power and prestige of extended families within rural communities varies with its male membership. Even in an urban context, an extended family will prosper if it has many sons with important social and business contacts,34 Such a family system, therefore, encourages women to have many children. In various Nigerian cities, total fertility among urban wives has been found to be over five children per women.35 By encouraging fertility, the extended family system discourages in effect female industrial employment. From the viewpoint of employers, frequent pregnancies accompanied by maternity leave benefits not only increase gender differentiated labour costs but may, also, in an industrial establishment seriously disrupt production scheduling. Moreover, a large number of small children makes it more difficult for a woman to combine childrearing responsibilities with a fixed work day at a modern industrial establishment.

The characteristics of the marital system may also encourage women's desire for economic independence and promote women's industrial labour force commitment. Economic independence is a form of insurance protecting women against the risks of future uncertainties including changing marital circumstances. Polygamous Nigerian marriages encourage women to work outside the home as the husbands income is shared among several wives and their progeny. Support payments may also be small and irregular. Even though the British introduced the monogamous marital system under civil law or as part of Christian religious practices, polygamy is socially acceptable and lawful. In urban areas, an elite man may have a wife married under the imported British legal system and a second wife married under native law and custom. The monogamous urban wife, living with the potential instability of her marital arrangement and fearing that her spouse's financial commitments might change, values her economic independence and seeks continuous employment.36

A fundamental prerequisite for employment, mobility and status within the modern industrial sector is education. Formal education serves as a screening device for entry into different

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34 John C. Caldwell, "Toward a Restatement of Demographic Transition Theory Population and Development Review, 2, No.3 and 4 (September, December 1976), p. 340.

35 Frank L. Mott and O.J. Fapohunda, The Population of Nigeria (Lagos: Human Resources Research Unit, University of Lagos, 1975), pp. 21-22.

36 E. R. Fapohunda, "Characteristics of Women Workers," loc. cit.

occupational categories. The minimum prerequisite for a Nigerian factory hand is now primary school completion. Over time, the minimum educational requirements for jobs in industry have risen. For example, during the 1960's, Nigerian factory mechanics were often unskilled workers who received employer sponsored on-the-job training, but, presently, only trade centre graduates with formal qualifications are employed in this capacity.37 The educational qualifications of a worker also affects his method of obtaining employment. Individuals of limited education must at times use informal means of getting jobs through social networks or patronage systems, while workers with scarce technical skills have been recruited by prospective employers while still in school.

Unfortunately, indigenous social factors have adversely affected women's educational preparation for industrial employment both in terms of level of preparation and programme characteristics. In the North, rulers actively discouraged non-Koranic education. For women who would spend their adult lives in seclusion, education was not considered to be necessary or desirable. Girls could be more usefully employed in domestic activities or act as agents for their secluded mothers' income generating activities. While education is more widely accepted in the South, relatively few girls were sent to school, especially secondary schools and universities, as the education of sons was often considered to be a better family investment.38

During the 1970's, the Nigerian Government, as will be discussed, introduced the Universal Free Primary Education Scheme. State secondary school fees were also either reduced or removed. Although female primary and secondary school enrolments increase, in many states, males still outnumbered females in these institutions. For example, during the school year 1980-1981 female primary school enrolment was only 33.8 per cent of the total in Sokoto State and 29.2 per cent in Kano.39 Primary school education is now available in all sections of the country to children whose parents are willing to send them.

Despite the removal or reduction of fees, studies in such states as Rivers showed that parents still constituted "obstacles to the upliftment of women by restricting access to and

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37 Weeks, "Adaptive Strategies," p. 58..

38 Catherine M. DiDomenico, "Nigerian Industrial Recruits: A Case Study of New Workers at the Nigerian Tobacco Company Factory at Ibadan, " a thesis in the Department of Sociology submitted to the Faculty of Social Sciences in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at the University of Ibadan, September 1973, p. 219.

39 Statistics Unit, Federal Ministry of Education, Lagos.

participation in the educational process."[40] Parents of both sexes in the Borno local government area of Rivers State, despite free primary and secondary education, had lower educational aspirations for girls than boys.[41] Unfortunately, some state governments in 1984 have had to reintroduce primary and secondary school fees or levies as austerity measures. The reintroduction of such fees will likely discourage female education as the opportunity costs of training girls rises and, therefore, will reduce the gains of the free education programme.[42] However, the Sokoto Military Governor announced in January 1985 that all female students would be exempted from school fees as the Government was dissatisfied with the enrolment rate of girls in primary and secondary schools.[43]

Nigerian women's preparation for modern sector industry has been influenced by indigenous as well as imported definitions of women's appropriate roles. During the British Colonization process, Victorian traditions were transported to Nigeria. According to these imported traditions, a woman's primary role was in the home taking care of the needs of her children and husband. Therefore, British missionary Schools for girls emphasized European domestic skills and hygiene; as they were training girls to be Christian wives. Little consideration was paid to vocational objectives.

Persisting in the postindependence period, the British definition of women's appropriate social role was incorporated into Nigerian textbooks and school curricula. Nigerian women, growing up with these imported sex stereotypes, have been deterred from studying for or applying for "male jobs".

Yet, even if suitably trained Nigerian women, apply for male jobs, employers attitudes concerning the appropriateness of female workers may limit women's opportunities in both the public and private sectors. Employers, too, are conditioned by inherited stereotypes. For example, Miss E.F. Sunday in a recent letter to a Nigerian newspaper wrote:

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[40] G.B. Roberts, "Parental Attitude Towards the Education of Female Children: A Survey of Gokana in Borno Local Government Area," a paper presented at the Third Annual Conference of Women in Nigeria held at Port Harcourt, April 1984, p. 7.

[41] *Ibid.*, p.10.

[42] C.C. Ntamere "Choice of Career and the Effect on Income Differences Between Men and Women, a paper presented at the Third Annual Conference of Women in Nigeria held at the University of Port Harcourt, April 1984, p. 5.

[43] *Punch*, (January 14, 1985), p.8.

> I am a holder of O.N.D. in mining engineering from one of the Federal Polytechnics in the country and looking for industrial attachment to enable me to undergo my H.N.D. programme. But surprisingly, my application was orally turned down by a director in the Ministry of Mines and Power saying he finds no reason why ladies should go for the course (mining engineering) and that he would never employ a lady even if there were office jobs which ladies who study this course can do. I can not understand this in a developing country and regard it as mere jealousy.

Perhaps tongue in cheek she continued:

> I am already in for mining. I am afraid nobody can stop me from this course and I will not be discouraged. But for the sake of the ladies that may be queueing up for it, I advise the Government to include in the entrance forms to all the higher institutions in the country the courses considered for both men and women.44

As part of the Fourth National Development Plan, 1981-1985, all primary and secondary school texts are to be locally produced.45 This decision represents a good opportunity to eliminate foreign definitions of women"s roles which in effect constrain women"s occupational choices. On the other hand, it's important that the indigenous authors of these new texts be sensitive to the multiple roles of women in the economy and to the problems of economic and social inequalities by sex. Unfortunately, even indigenous newspapers have been criticised for not portraying a positive image of Nigerian women. This has been attributed to the limited number of women in senior editorial positions.46 It would seem, therefore, imperative that informed women should be actively recruited to participate in the writing of these new textbooks.

Moreover, British labour law traditions protecting women have been introduced without the Nigerian Government sufficiently considering their appropriateness for local labour market conditions. In Britain, after women had firmly established themselves in factory employment for a substantial period of time, the Government prohibited female night employment. But the Nigerian Labour Code prohibits female night employment, even before women had been employed in large numbers in the modern industrial sector. It is doubtful whether adequate studies were conducted

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44 The_Guardian, (April 3, 1984), p. 6.

45 Fourth_National_Development_Plan, p. 258.

46 Modupe F. Adeogun, "Attitude of Nigerian Mass Media Towards Women", a paper presented at the Women and Education Conference held at Port Harcourt, April, 1984.

to evaluate the impact of this legislation on the generation of female industrial employment in a labour surplus market.

With independence, the Nigerian Government's development policy has also influenced Nigerian women's educational preparation for the industrial labour market. Before the Third National Development Plan (1975-1980), the education of Nigerian children was left to the discretion of the family and various state governments. However, Government's philosophy of education changed under the Third National Development Plan. The purpose of education was now to serve functionally the socioeconomic and political needs of the country.47 The Federal Government became concerned with the lopsidedness of the geographic distribution of educational facilities as well as the maldistribution of enrolment between the sexes across the country and therefore initiated as of September 1976 a Universal Free Primary Education Scheme. The state governments were primarily responsible for financing the programme. As a result of the programme, primary school enrolment doubled from 5,950,296 (1975-1976) to 12,749,403 (1979-1980).

Besides the UPE Programme, the Federal Government has eased the private financial burden of secondary education by establishing low tuition and boarding fees throughout the country. In addition, the Federal Government became aware of the shortage of secondary school opportunities for girls and set up in each state a Federal Government Girls' College as well as a coeducational Federal Government College. This was done as many parents prefer to send their girls to single sex schools and therefore girls did not fill their 50 per cent quota in mixed sex schools. In effect, there are now more places for girls than boys within the federal secondary school system.48

The Federal Government also increased the number of universities and removed university tuition fees. By substantially lowering these private education costs, female education in general and particularly among the lower income classes has been encouraged. Studies of Nigerian female students in two universities during the mid 1970's showed that female students did not represent the broad socioeconomic spectrum of Nigerian society, but rather came from a small group of urban elite families.49 In 1973-1974, women graduates represented 14.4 per cent of the

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47 Third National Development Plan, p. 237.

48 E. Joyce Coker, "Training Women for Scientific and Technical Careers", a paper presented at the National Workshop on Women in the Modern Sector Labour Force in Nigeria, University of Lagos, March 1985, p. 3.

49 M.O. Shoremi and Frank Mott, "Characteristics and Expectations of Lagos University Undergraduates", Bulletin No. 6/001 (Lagos: Human Resources Research Unit, University of Lagos, 1974).

2,364 University students who entered the Federal Government's compulsory Youth Service Corps. But, by 1981-1982, female youth corps members were 23.8 per cent of the total enrolment of 26,903.[50]

In 1984, as an austerity measure to offset declining revenues, the Federal Government raised university boarding fees and was forced not to raise tuition by student protests. It is likely but too early to substantiate that such measures will have a differential impact on potential female students, thereby having a negative effect on their participation in the industrialization process. If such a trend appears, special compensatory female bursaries given by the Government or by voluntary agencies may be desirable to rectify the situation.

In Nigeria, a woman may use her time either for home production activities, market production activities or leisure. Socially defined sex roles and the structure of family units affect the requirements of home production activities, which indirectly influence women's participation in the modern urban sector, either by expanding or imposing limitations on women's time, energy and mobility. Such considerations may help explain Iweriebor's comment that:

> The female agriculturalists tend to drift to the Home Economics Division of the ministries, the female doctors to the Ministry of Health, the scientists to the classrooms. In other words, even when they scale the hurdle of obtaining scarce skills, they are quietly but firmly herded into the more "womanly" support structure of the system.[51]

The traditional rural family division of labour, with the wife being primarily responsible for the home and children, is continued in urban communities. But the rural woman was more able to reconcile the demands of her various activities without serious difficulties. Cowives or female members of the extended family played a supportive role in sharing childrearing responsibilities, or the nature of the rural woman's occupation enabled her to jointly undertake childraising and non-domestic activities.

With industrialization, the nature and requirements of work changed. In the modern industrial sector, Nigerian women must follow patterns of a fixed-hour work day and are not able to bring their offspring to the workplace. Also, in many private sector industrial establishments, women must work 44 hours a week. As her home and work place are separated and urban transportation facilities are inadequate, the working mother may also be forced to spend large amounts of her limited time travelling to work.

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[50] Mathew O. Eshalomi, *Graduate Unemployment in Nigeria* (Lagos: Eshalomi and Associates, 1983), p.4.

[51] Ifeyinwa Iweriebor, "On Becoming A Person - Proposals for Using Education for the Humanisation of Womankind", a paper presented at the Third Annual Conference of Women in Nigeria held at Port Harcourt, April 1984, p.12.

With rural-urban migration, conjugal units are increasingly separate from their relatives and the childcare support system of the extended family breaks down. Aged parents are reluctant to stay in cramped, strange urban environments to take care of children. Finally in urban centres, cowives often live in separate houses and have their own outside employment.

The childrearing functions of the extended family may continue to a limited extent, as urban parents send their children to be raised by relatives or as poorer rural relatives children are sent to live and work in their urban kin's homes, perhaps while they receive some educational training. These working children help take care of their relation's children. But with the introduction of Universal Free Primary Education and the subsidization of secondary education by the Nigerian Government, poor parents in rural areas are now more reluctant to send their children to their kin.

The type of childcare arrangement a woman working in the modern industrial sector can make varies with her education and income. Senior staff women are able to send their children to expensive nursery schools or day care centers which junior staff women cannot afford. Such women rely on older children, friends or inexpensive babyminders to take care of their children. Such children are often left in crowded, unhealthy environments with inexperienced or uncaring supervisors. Due to their primary and secondary school commitments, state governments have no resources to establish child care centres or nursery schools. Some states such as Lagos and Anambra supervise the setting up and operation of nursery school and day care centres.

Even if a Nigerian urban woman has adequate help with her children, the caring of a sick child usually remains her responsibility. If she works in the private industrial sector, she is not usually able to bring her children to the company clinic. She is, therefore, usually forced to spend long hours away from her employment in order to sit in an overcrowded public clinics. If she is the mother of several small children, as is often the case, the pattern repeats itself frequently.

The Nigerian working mother finds it difficult to purchase market-produced goods and services as substitutes for home produced commodities. Commercially produced alternatives are either nonexistent, inferior in quality or prohibitively priced. The persistence of the traditional division of labour, without a strongly supportive extended family system, has established certain barriers to women's modern sector industrial employment.

Significantly, 23 per cent of 824 surveyed Lagos working mothers reported that their husbands did nothing in the house. Only 16 per cent of these women said their husbands supervised servants and children.52

The term "role conflict" implies that the activities and responsibilities of an individual's different social positions are not complementary. Generally, role conflict arises as time becomes an increasingly scarce resource. The Nigerian working mother in modern industry must make choices concerning alternative uses of time in domestic production and labour market activities. Depending on the situation, the degree of stress and anxiety the working woman faces may elicit different responses. Under duress, a junior staff industrial worker may decide to set up her own business in the informal sector or a senior staff woman may decide to seek employment in a nonprofit oriented public sector establishment to eliminate some of the private sector work pressures. A senior or intermediate staff woman employee may decide to remain with her private sector industrial employer but lowers her career goals. Women industrial workers may also actively seek new ways, perhaps with the co-operation of other women in a union, to handle their conflicting responsibilities.

The problems of role conflict affect women's performance in the modern industrial labour market, forming a functional basis for employers discriminating against them. Additional costs of casual, sick and maternity leave may mean that female labour is, in fact, more expensive than male labour. Governments in formulating welfare policies must recognize that women, from a national development perspective, fulfill productive functions both as mothers and workers and must weigh the impact of proposed programmes on both activities. Government policies may actually increase female labour costs and discourage the generation of female industrial employment. For example, the Implementation Committee for the National Policy on Education suggested that large scale employers of labour be required to establish preprimary schools.53 Such a policy would be a serious deterrent to the generation of additional female industrial employment as the female labour costs to the employer would be appreciably increased. If any thing, employers would be encouraged to replace an existing small female staff with male workers.

Nigerian women's modern industrial labour force behaviour is determined in part by what individuals want and what is feasible given short and long term economic conditions. For example,

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[52] O.J. and E.R. Fapohunda, "The Working Mothers of Lagos," Report of a research project submitted to the Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C., 1976, p. 125.

[53] Federal Republic of Nigeria, Implementation_Committee_for_the National_Policy_on_Education (1978), p.10.

industrialization policies affect the composition and technology of production determining the demand for various occupations with different levels of skill and education. Specifically, if the Nigerian Government decides to promote the growth of a pharmaceutical industry, there will be a rising demand for research scientists and pharmacists. Although traditionally few Nigerian women have prepared for such careers, these occupations would have significant prospects.

In contrast, if industrialization policies stress the development of high technology food processing industries, women's employment prospectives would be limited. Such industries are highly capital intensive and run often on a three shift basis to reduce fixed costs. Employers usually feel that women lack the physical ability to cope with heavy machines, and labour code regulations further restrict their participation.

However, it should be noted that women are considered to be better adapted than men to certain technological processes based on objective productivity criteria and/or cost considerations. At times, such views may only reflect long held prejudices. For example, in certain factories, unskilled women workers are often considered to be more suitable for labelling, bottle cleaning and light packaging functions than men. In the short run, such women's industrial activities may be seen as being desirable and worthy of promotion.

Women's modern sector industrial employment opportunities are also affected by the general state of the labour market. Prior to the Third National Development Plan 1975-1980, Nigerian policy makers expected that the modern sector would generate enough wage employment opportunities to alleviate unemployment. In actuality, the modern sector has had a relatively low labour absorptive capacity. The manufacturing sector, for example, which potentially can vary its technology, has been encouraged by Government fiscal policies to use imported capital intensive methods of production.

During the first three years of the Third Plan period, the rate of employment growth in large or medium firms was only 5 per cent per annum, as compared to the envisaged average annual increase of 6.4 per cent.[54] Some projects which were expected to generate employment were not implemented. In addition, the decline in national oil resources and increased smuggling activity adversely affected existing businesses. At the same time, the number of individuals seeking wage employment for the first time had been rising due to increased schooling opportunities and rising rural-urban migration trends. As a result, the majority of the urban unemployed were young people entering the labour market for the first time. In 1974, almost one out of every three persons 15-24 who were in the urban labour force were unemployed.55 Moreover, in the age group 15-19 years, the unemployment rate for females (24.4 per cent) was much higher than the rate for males (18 per cent). It was estimated that primary school leavers and dropouts constituted a little over half of all the unemployed individuals.

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[54] Federal Republic of Nigeria, Federal Ministry of Planning, Guidelines_for_the_Fourth_National_Development_Plan_1981-1985 (Lagos: 1980), p.59.

During the Fourth National Development Plan, 1981-1985, the problem of urban unemployment particularly among school leavers is expected to become more serious due to underlying population variables. Accelerated rates of population growth in the teenage groups and in the more politically vocal 20-29 age category are expected. The average annual growth rate of the age group 5-14 has increased from 2.4 per cent during the 1950's to 3.5 per cent during the 1980's. The latter implies that the population in this age category will double in eight years. Similarly, the average annual growth rate of the age group 20 to 30 will increase from 2.6 per cent (1960's and 1970's) to 3.8 per cent during the 1980's.56

In the plan period, wage employment was expected to grow at 5 per cent per annum and to account for only about 10 per cent of the anticipated 3,800,000 new jobs. Modern sector employment was projected to increase by 650,000 or about 5.8 per cent per annum. Almost 70 per cent of this increase was to be generated in services and manufacturing. About three-fifths of the estimated modern sector employment was to be provided by the Government with the balance by the private sector. In most states, the public sector accounts for roughly three quarters of the modern sector employment. Therefore, the Plan emphasized ".... that in such states, the growth of wage employment depends, to a large extent, on the expansion of employment in the public sector, particularly the civil service."57

However, the decline in the world petroleum market forced the state and federal Governments first to cease hiring new employees and, later in 1984, to start retrenching civil servants. Historically new university graduates have mainly been

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55 Federal Republic of Nigeria, National Manpower Board, Labour Force Sample Survey 1974 (Lagos: 1979), p.43.

56 Helena Chojnacka, "Some Implications of Nigeria's Age Composition", Ulecons: The Annual Journal of the University of Lagos Economic Students' Society, IV, No. 1, (1979-1980), p.7.

57 Fourth National Development Plan, pp. 424-425.

58 Federal Republic of Nigeria, National Manpower Board, Federal Ministry of Economic Development and Reconstruction, A Survey of Graduate Employment Prospects 1973-1974 to 1975-1976 (Lagos: 1974).

employed by the civil service.[58] As a result of Government's austerity measures, a new type of unemployment developed which was not prevalent a decade earlier - graduate unemployment. At the same time, import restrictions to reduce foreign exchange outflows have limited the supply of raw materials to the modern manufacturing sector leading to production cut backs and retrenchments. These lay offs have compounded the problems of school leavers and graduate unemployment.

During the remaining half of the decade there is likely to be increased competition between the sexes for modern sector industrial jobs. In a labour market of surplus supply, discriminatory attitudes of employers toward women workers are strengthened. Many women, including the highly educated, will have to seek either self employment or wage job in the formal sector. Those who pursue modern industrial sector employment will probably be most successful if they have training to undertake scientific and technical occupations which are still in short supply or seek jobs for which employers feel that women have special abilities.

C. CHARACTERISTICS OF NIGERIAN WOMEN'S LABOUR FORCE PARTICIPATION

1. Nigerian Women's Work Commitments

In Nigeria, there are inherent problems in describing statistically characteristics of women engaged in income generating activities, partly because of the structure of the economy and partly because of socio-political factors. Since the Nigerian economy is dualistic, women engage in industrial activities in both the modern sector and the informal sector. In addition, Northern Muslim women engage in informal sector food processing and craft activities within the seclusion of their husbands compounds. For example, a 1973 sample survey of 122 secluded women in Katsina revealed that 63.9 per cent were engaged in individual income-earning work activities.[59]

Generally, there are more enumeration problems in gathering information about women's income generating activities in the informal sector than in the modern sector, but these problems have been compounded by socio-political factors. A fundamental problem is that the Nigerian Government lacks a Women's Bureau. Along with promoting and publicizing women's income generating activities, one of the functions of such a bureau would be to liaise with other statistics collecting agencies to see whether statistics relevant to women's income generating activities are actually being collected, to determine whether enumerators' questions are biased against women and, finally, to consider whether proposed informants could adequately supply accurate information.

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[59] Renee Pittin, *Documentation of Women's Work in Nigeria: Problem and Solutions*, Population and Labour Policies Programme working paper No.125 (Geneva: International Labour Office, 1982), p.8.

Presently, the Federal Office of Statistics' *Industrial Survey*, which collects information periodically from enterprises employing more than ten workers includes an employment breakdown by occupation but, unfortunately, not by gender. Moreover, the collected date available from the Nigerian Census has been criticized as being based on concepts and categories which are largely inapplicable to women's varied multiple roles. These data, therefore, have failed to accurately and usefully quantify women's economic activities.60 Finally, the Nigerian labour force sample surveys have obtained information from household heads, usually male. Such labour force sample surveys tend to underestimate women's' income generating activities particularly in the North. Male informants may either be unaware of their wives'. multiple economic activities or do not wish to disclose this information. By denying their wives' income earning occupations, these men symbolically proclaim their wives' socially approved economic dependency and assert their own control.61

Available surveys, however, do show that in both the urban and rural areas of the country a greater proportion of men than women aged 15-59 are recorded as being economically active. According to the 1983 Labour Force Sample Survey, the male urban labour force participation rate was 7[illegible].4 per cent and the rural rate was 74.5 per cent.62 In contrast, the female urban labour force participation rate was 41.9 per cent, while their rural rate was 34.7 per cent. The low recorded labour force participation rates of rural women are significant in view of the fact that in the rural areas of most states and for the country as a whole there are more women than men due to rural urban migration. The low recorded participation rate does not actually reflect the limited economic activities of rural women, but rather is a manifestation of the problems of using western concepts of labour force, particularly as they pertain to unpaid family workers in Africa.63 Historically, the participation rates of both sexes have declined, reflecting the rapid expansion of the educational

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60 *Ibid.*, p. 16-23.

61 *Ibid.*, pp. 34-35; Richard Anker, "Female Labour Activity in Developing Countries: A Critique of Current Data Collection Techniques", World Employment Programme Research, Population and Labour Policies Programme Working Paper No. 136 (Geneva: International Labour Office 1983), p.3.

62 National Manpower Board, Federal Ministry of National Planning, *Report of the Labour Force Sample Survey, 1983* (Lagos: 1984), p.13.

63 For a further discussion, see Richard Anker, *op. cit.*

system and the tendency of youth to remain longer in school.64

In Nigeria, generally, women are recorded as being less economically active than men. But, among the states of the Federation, there are significant variations in the extent of female economic activities. In 1983, state female labour force participation rates varied at the extremes from 32.8 per cent (Anambra) to 79.2 per cent (Ogun).65 On the whole, women's recorded labour force participation rates are higher in the South than in the Muslim North.

2. Industrial_and_Occupational_Deployment_of_Nigerian_Women Workers

In urban areas, over fifty per cent of Nigerian women have been employed in commerce or trade, while less than twenty per cent have been employed in manufacturing. (See Table 18). In fact, there are indications that during the decade of the seventies, the percentage of women employed employed in manufacturing actually declined from approximately 15 per cent (1974) to 10 per cent (1976). By 1983, this declining trend was accentuated by recession related retrenchments, and only 1.4 per cent of the women were employed in this sector (Table 19). Significantly, the percentage of men nationally in manufacturing has been consistently higher than the percentage of women employed in this sector.

Between 1974 and 1976, urban women's employment rose in the service sector from approximately 13 per cent to 15 per cent (Table 18). Within the service sector, women's employment increased appreciably in the community, social and personal services category due to the rapid expansion of the Government sector after 1976. In 1983, approximately 30 per cent of urban women were employed in this sector as compared to thirteen per cent nine years earlier.

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64 Labour_Force_Sample_Survey_1983, p.13.

65 Ibid., p. 17.

Table 18

Percentage Distribution of Urban Employed
Nigerian Workers by Industry and Sex,
1966-1967, 1974, 1976

Industrial Sector	1966/67 Males	1966/67 Females	1974 Males	1974 Females	1976 Males	1976 Females
Agriculture	32.2	16.6	16.7	10.5	24.6	19.2
Mining	0.2	0.0	0.6	0.0	0.8	0.1
Manufacturing	18.1	15.8	14.8	15.4	14.0	9.5
Construction	3.5	0.1	4.8	0.2	5.0	0.6
Electricity, Gas, Water	0.4	0.0	1.4	0.1	1.6	0.2
Commerce	14.5	59.3	21.0	57.8	19.7	53.8
Transport and Communication	6.3	0.1	5.9	0.2	6.9	0.3
Services	24.4	8.0	27.4	13.3	25.7	15.3
Others	0.4	0.1	7.4	2.5	1.7	1.0
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Federal Office of Statistics, *Social Statistics in Nigeria* (Lagos: 1980), p.59.

In contrast to urban women, the vast majority of rural women work in agriculture (52.1 per cent in 1983). However, as in the cities, a sizeable proportion of these women (29.4 per cent) work in trade, restaurants and hotels.66

The occupational distribution of Nigerian women is affected by their industrial dispersion, career motivation, educational preparation, and employers" prejudices. Therefore, the relative importance of occupational categories for women workers is quite different from their male counterparts. For urban males, the most important occupational category in 1983 was production, transport and related workers. (Table 20). Twenty-six per cent of the male urban workers were in the category but only 6.9 per cent of the women. In contrast, approximately 49 per cent of the urban women were enumerated as salesworkers, the most important female occupation, and only 16 per cent of the urban men.

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66 *Labour Force Sample Survey, 1983*, p. 24.

Generally, professional and technical workers, clerical workers, administrative and managerial workers are a smaller proportion of the female urban labour force than is the case with the men. In the rural sector, as would be expected, most men and women were agricultural workers. However, as in the urban areas, a greater proportion of men were production workers and a greater percentage of women were salesworkers.

Table 19

Percentage Distribution of Urban Employed Nigerian Workers by Industry and Sex, 1974 and 1983

Industrial Sector	Males 1974	Males 1983	Females 1974	Females 1983	Total 1974	Total 1983
Agriculture	16.7	13.1	10.5	11.6	14.5	12.5
Mining & Quarrying	0.5	0.4	0.03	-	.38	0.5
Manufacturing	14.8	4.1	15.4	1.4	15.0	3.2
Electricity, Gas & Water	1.4	4.5	0.1	-	0.9	2.9
Construction	4.8	5.7	0.2	0.2	3.1	3.8
Trade, Restaurants & Hotels	21.0	17.1	57.8	51.3	34.2	29.2
Transportation & Communication	5.9	9.5	0.2	0.4	3.8	6.3
Financing, Insurance, Business Services	2.2	2.6	0.4	1.2	1.6	2.1
Community, Social & Personal Services	27.4	41.0	13.3	29.5	22.4	36.9
Others	5.2	2.0	2.1	4.4	4.1	2.9
All Sectors	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: National Manpower Board, Federal Ministry of National Planning, Labour Force Sample Survey, 1974 (Lagos, 1979), p. 35

It is important to characterize women's employment within the modern sector by employer as job opportunities and conditions of service vary among public and private sector employers. In

Nigeria, most women are employed in the informal rather than the modern sector of the economy, particularly as self-employed salesworkers. For example, a 1980 sample survey of 630 working women in Benin, the capital of Bendel State, showed that 97.4 per cent of 309 salesworkers were employed in the informal sector (See Table 21). The majority of the interviewed female service workers and craftsmen were also employed in the informal sector.

Table 20

Percentage Distribution of Employed Nigerian Workers by Major Occupation and Sex (1983)

Major Occupation	Males		Females	
	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural
Professional, Technical & Related Manpower	13.5	3.6	10.7	4.8
Administrative & Managerial Manpower	0.6	0.3	-	-
Clerical & Related Workers	9.8	2.1	4.7	2.5
Salesworkers	15.5	5.0	48.6	27.5
Agricultural Workers	13.8	73.4	11.6	45.9
Service Staff	11.3	2.2	13.6	8.8
Production, Transport & Related Workers	26.0	11.5	6.9	6.4
Others	9.5	1.9	3.9	4.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: *Report of the Labour Force Sample Survey, 1982,* pp. 26-27.

On the other hand, the majority of the Benin professional and technical women workers, clerical workers and unskilled women workers were employed in the modern wage sector. The first two categories of women workers were primarily employed in the public wage sector. The majority of unskilled female workers were working in the private wage sector.

Table 21

Sector of employment (Benin City) by women's occupation (1980)

Occupation	Percentages by Sector of Employment				Number
	Wage Public Sector	Wage Private Sector	Total Wage Sector	Non Wage Sector	
Professional/ Technical	85.9	6.5	92.2	6.8	128
Clerical	71.8	10.0	91.8	8.2	85
Sales	0.3	2.3	2.6	97.4	309
Farmer/Fisherman	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0	8
Private Household	18.8	68.8	87.6	12.4	16
Services	15.0	12.5	27.5	72.5	40
Craftsmen/Skilled Workers	7.3	0.0	7.3	92.7	41
Unskilled Labourers	33.3	66.7	100.0	0.0	3

Source: Christiana E.E. Okojie, "An Economic Analysis of Labour Supply of Women in Benin City," Thesis in the Department of Economics submitted to the Faculty of Social Sciences in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, University of Ibadan, 1981.

The 1980 Benin data shows that the most important determinant of women's urban informal sector participation was education.[67] Over 94 per cent of the Benin women who either had no education or primary education were employed in the informal sector. By contrast, 68 per cent of the secondary school graduates and over 90 per cent of the technical or university graduates were employed in the modern sector. Over the next two decades, the marked educational demarcation between women employed in the modern and informal sectors will fade since the employment generation potential of the modern sector is limited, while the number of polytechnic and university graduates will continue to rise.

Within the modern sector, approximately 68 per cent of the female employees in 1977 worked in the public modern sector and 32 per cent in the private modern sector. (Table 22). The major employer of women workers has been state government. Perhaps, this has been due to the rapid expansion of state government employment after 1976. At that time, seven new states were created from the existing 12 states. At the federal and state Government levels, more women were employed by the civil service rather than by the more profit oriented public corporations (Table 22).

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[67] Okojie, "Women in Benin City," p.195.

Table 22

Percentage distribution of Nigerian Female Employees by modern Sector Employer, all States (1977)

Type of Employer	Percentage Distribution of Female Employees	
Federal Government (Civil Service)	16.8	28.8
Federal Government (Corporations)	12.0	
State Government (Civil Service)	25.1	32.3
State Government (Corporations)	7.1	
Local Government	7.2	
Private	31.8	
Total	100.00	

Although government is the major employer of females in the modern sector, women constitute a minority of the public sector labour force. For example, women were only 12.7 per cent of the federal civil service labour force and 17.4 per cent of the state civil service employees in 1977.[68] Similarly, women were only 10.4 per cent of the modern private sector work force.

During the 1970's, the percentage of women in the federal civil service rose from 8.8 per cent (1970) as the total employment of this sector expanded rapidly, illustrating what has been previously noted by the Economic Commission for Africa that ". . .opportunities for women in wage employment increase almost exclusively when the total economy or particular sectors of it grow rapidly."69 By 1982, women were 12.8 per cent of the total civil service work force.70

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[68] National Manpower Board, Federal Ministry of Economic Development, Study of Nigeria's Manpower Requirements, 1977 (Lagos: 1979), p.20.

In the modern sector, a disproportionate number of women are employed in a limited number of occupations or "women's jobs" which are often extensions of women's domestic or supportive roles. If a "women's job" is defined as an occupation in which over 25 per cent of the Nigerian employees are women, the following senior and intermediate level occupations fall into this category: Catering Officers (50 per cent women); Confidential Secretaries (46 per cent women); Dieticians and Nutritionists (65 per cent women); Nurses (77 per cent women); Pharmaceutical Assistants (32.3 per cent women); Social Development Officers (57 per cent women).71

In the modern sector, significant labour shortages have occurred in high and intermediate level scientific and technical positions important for selfreliant industrialization. In 1981, there were 40 per cent to 50 per cent vacancy rates for geophysicists, industrial chemists, systems analysts and programmers, statisticians, architects, town planning technicians, civil/structural engineers, dentists and optometrists/opticians.72 Historically, these occupations have relatively few female practitioners. For example, only 8.8 per cent of the industrial chemists, 6.6 per cent of the town planning technicians, 9.5 per cent of the optometrists/opticians and 4.4 per cent of the civil engineers are female.

3. Employment Status of Nigerian Women

The majority of urban women and men are employers or workers on their own account. This characteristic reflects the importance of the informal sector in the Nigerian economy. However, between 1966 and 1976, over three-quarters of urban women have been in this category as compared to slightly over half of the

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69 United Nations Economic Commission for Africa, Human Resources Development Division, "Women: The Neglected Human Resources for African Development", in *Canadian Journal of African Studies*, 6, No.2 (1972), p.366.

70 *The Guardian* (May 6, 1984), p. 12.

71 National Manpower Board, Federal Ministry of National Planning, *Nigeria's Manpower Requirements, 1981*, Manpower Studies No. 20 (Lagos: 1984), pp. 26-39.

72 *Ibid.*, pp.26-38.

73 *Social Statistics in Nigeria*, p. 57.

men.73 As a complementary trend, over 30 per cent of urban men have been employees as compared to less than 5 per cent of the women. Finally, it should be noted that a smaller percentage of urban women (approximately 2 per cent) have been apprentices as compared to over five per cent for men.

Several factors underlie these historical trends. Firstly, more men than women have been employed as wage earners in the modern sector. Secondly, more men than women have also been employed as wage earners in the informal sector. For example, a 1976 sample survey of Lagos informal sector enterprises found that not only do fewer enterprises hire female workers, but these establishments tend to have a lower labour absorptive capacity (Table 23). Enterprises such as printing, saw milling, carpentry, and blockmaking which have a higher employment capacity are traditionally "male" informal sector occupations. For example, Table 24 shows that there were significant differences in the status of workers within 100 small scale industries in Ondo State, depending on their economic activities. Finally, there are relatively few female apprentices because there is sex segregation in the informal labour market. The traditional male occupations, such as motor mechanics or printing, usually have more apprentices. Some research has suggested that the failure of women to enter these informal sector training programmes may not be due primarily to employers' discriminatory attitudes but rather to self discriminatory behaviour on the part of potential female apprentices.74 Parents as well as peers may have a decisive role to play in this respect.

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[74] Lawrence A. Adeokun, Aderanti Adepoju, F. Durojaiye Ilori, A.A. Adewuyi and J.A. Ebigbola, "Causes of Sex Discrimination in Urban Labour Markets: The Case of A Nigerian University Ile-Ife" (Ile-Ife, Department of Demography and Social Statistics, unpublished, n.d.), p.44.

Table 23

Full-Time Employees in some Lagos Informal Sector Enterprises by sex

Number of Employees per Enterprise	Number of Employers With Male Workers	Number of Employers With female Workers	Total Number of Workers Male	Percent	Female	Percent
1	493	116	493	17.8	116	32.1
2	255	31	510	18.4	62	17.2
3	119	11	357	12.9	33	9.1
4	103	13	412	14.9	52	14.4
5	52	7	260	9.4	35	9.7
6	41	-	246	8.9	-	-
7	9	4	63	2.3	28	7.8
8	25	2	200	7.2	16	4.3
9	13	1	117	4.2	9	2.5
10	11	1	110	4.0	10	2.8
Total	1121	185	2768	100.0	361	100.0

Source: O.J. Fapohunda, "Informal Sector," p. 59.

4. *Patterns of Women's Modern Sector Industrial Employment in Lagos*

To develop a more in-depth profile of women's modern sector industrial employment, it is useful to consider the characteristics of Lagos women workers. Since Lagos is the main industrial, commercial and administrative centre of Nigeria, over 40 per cent of all modern sector employees are in Lagos.75

A 1977 survey of all large commercial and industrial enterprises in Lagos showed that women constituted only nine per cent of all modern sector employees, but approximately 11 per cent of private sector manufacturing employees.76

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75 *Study of Nigeria's Manpower Requirements, 1977*, p. 18.

76 United Nations Economic Commission for Africa, *Report on Survey of Industrial, Commercial and Other NonPublic Service Establishments in Metropolitan Lagos* (Addis Ababa: 1980), pp. 9-11.

Table 24

Distribution of Persons Engaged in Sampled
Small Scale Industries in Ondo State, 1981

Name of Industry	No of Firms	Total No.Employed	Self Employed	Paid Employed	Appentices	Mean Labour Force per fi
1. Bakery	6	44	18	9	17	7.3
2. Furniture	10	63	10	11	42	6.3
3. Wood Carving	3	11	7	-	4	3.7
4. Cement Block Moulding	7	33	18	15	-	4.7
5. Printing	3	62	10	21	31	10.7
6. Tailoring	20	103	32	18	53	5.2
7. Shoemaking	6	20	6	-	14	3.3
8. Gold Smithing	15	33	22	-	12	3.2
9. Saw Milling	5	60	19	28	13	1.2
10. Weaving	6	19	9	-	10	3.2
11. Black Smithing	15	33	24	-	9	2.2
12. Carpentry	4	46	10	13	23	11.5

Source: Fasua M. Omojola, "Small Scale Industries in Ondo State Problems, Prospects and State Government Role," Research Paper presented to the Department of Economics University of Lagos in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the award of the Bachelor of Science Degree in Economics, June 1981, 31.

Significantly, 56.7 per cent of all modern private sector female employees were working in the manufacturing industry. Within the Lagos modern sector manufacturing industry, few women are senior or intermediate level professional, administrative or technical personnel or skilled craftsmen. For every 25 male senior professional, administrative, or technical personnel, there is only one female. Likewise, the sex ratio in the intermediate category is 12 to 1. Moreover, 12 male skilled craftsmen are employed for each woman.

The occupational distribution by sex is quite different in the Lagos modern manufacturing industry. A greater proportion of male employees are senior or intermediate professional or administrative personnel or skilled workers. On the other hand, a larger proportion of women are clerical and unskilled workers. The largest proportion of female workers (46 per cent) are unskilled workers, while the largest proportion of male workers (42.9 per cent) are skilled workers or craftsmen.

As a result of the occupational distribution, women's mean annual income in modern manufacturing was 335 Naira lower than the male mean income of 1711 Naira. Moreover, since female workers are mainly factory hands, a greater proportion of women than men were in the lowest income categories. Over 74 per cent of the females had incomes under 1199 Naira as compared to 62.4 per cent of the males.77

Under the impetus of the world petroleum boom, the modern manufacturing sector in Lagos expanded rapidly during the years 1971-1976. Both male and female employment increased at all occupational levels. As Table 25 shows, the average annual growth rate of male employment at all staff levels (senior, intermediate and junior) was higher than the female rate. It is significant to note that the highest average annual growth rate for women occurred in the intermediate staff category followed by the senior staff category. Both these staff categories experienced significant shortages of labour at this time. The lowest average annual growth rate was for junior staff women. The greatest differential between average annual male and female growth rates was for the junior staff. The competition for junior staff vacancies was keen, and in such occupational labour markets male labour usually has a competitive edge unless women have specialized skills.

Table 25

Average annual rate of employment growth for Lagos modern sector manufacturing industries by sex and staff grades (1971-1976)

Staff Grade	1971-1976 Annual Average Growth Rate
Senior Staff	
Male	13.0
Female	11.3
Intermediate Staff	
Male	16.8
Female	15.4
Junior Staff	
Male	13.2
Female	8.1

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77 Ibid., pp. 19-21.

Part Two: ENTERPRISE LEVEL ISSUES INFLUENCING NIGERIAN WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION IN THE INDUSTRIALIZATION PROCESS

A. WOMEN AND KEY INDUSTRIES IDENTIFIED FOR PRIORITY ACTION BY THE INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT DECADE IN AFRICA PROGRAMME

The purpose of the Industrial Development Decade in Africa Programme is to promote the development of selfreliant integrated economies by developing within each country a set of core industries which are appropriate to local resources and which have internal linkage effects. These core industries are also supposed to fulfill the basic needs of the population. In this regard, it is important to analyse the factors that limit the participation of Nigerian women in the designated priority industrial subsectors of the Industrialization Development Decade Programme as well as to assess those areas of activity where women have made a major contribution or could increase their contribution appreciably. Specifically, Nigerian women's participation will be considered in three core industries of the Industrial Development Decade in Africa Programme: Textiles, Chemicals and Agro-Industries.

1. Textiles Industry

The textiles industry was chosen for study since weaving in Nigeria was historically a women's occupation. Moreover, this industry is the biggest employer of modern sector industrial labour in the country. Over time, this industry is expected to grow so that the country will not only be self sufficient in textiles, but will be in a position to export textiles to other developing countries. Currently, Nigeria is the largest producer of textiles in sub-Saharan Africa.

Within the Nigerian textiles industry, there are 50 enterprises of various sizes and with diversified ownership patterns. Forty-six of the textiles mills commenced operation before 1976 and four started operation during the oil boom years of 1970-75. In 1980, thirty-eight enterprises were limited liability companies. Nine companies were characterized as sole proprietorships or partnerships, while three were public corporations. Significantly, sixteen companies were large scale employers hiring 1,000 or more employees, while 23 medium size firms employed 100-999 employees. Only eleven companies hired fewer than one hundred workers.

During the 1970's the number of textiles workers increased from 50,241 (1975) to 64,961 (1977). However, at the end of the decade, employment began to decline due to raw materials' shortages, inadequate power supply and increased smuggling activities. By 1980, 56,898 persons were employed in textiles.

Despite the capital intensive nature of this modern sector industry, the vast majority of its workers are factory operatives. In 1980, about 83 per cent of the labour force in textiles were operatives, 14 per cent were clerical workers and only 3 percent were professional, administrative and other managerial personnel, with either limited or technical education.78

However, a study of three Nigerian textiles companies suggests that the employment opportunities for women in the textiles industry are currently limited. Two companies, A and C, are large scale employers, while company B is a medium size firm. (Table 26). Company A is in Kaduna, a city in Northern Nigeria, while companies B and C are located in Lagos, the main southern industrial center.

In Company A, women comprise less than one per cent of the total labour force. The cultural and religious practices of the North prohibit the integration of women in a modern industrial setting. The few women employed in this company primarily as clerical and other service workers are from the southern part of Nigeria or are northern Christians. Both company B and C are located in the South, yet less than five per cent of their labour forces are women. Both companies are joint ventures between Nigerians and foreign interests. The personnel managers of both companies attributed the insignificant number of women workers to their physical inability to operate sophisticated heavy machinery and their legal inability to work at night. In Company C, which produces underwear and towels, the women production workers did not operate machinery but packed, labelled and loaded finished goods. Significantly, women were employed as professional and technical personnel.

Table 26

Occupational distribution of three modern sector Nigerian textile companies

Job Classification	COMPANY A					COMPANY B					COMPANY C				
	Male	%	Female	%	Total	Male	%	Female	%	Total	Male	%	Female	%	Total
(A) Senior Management															
1. Director and above	9	100.0	-	0.0	9	6	100.0	-	-	6	6	100.0	-	-	6
(B) Management															
a. Accountants, etc						3	100.0	-		3	28	100.0	-	-	28
b. Technical (chemists, etc.)	(47	97.9	1	2.1	48	7	100.0	-	-	7	(185		3		188
c. Professional (Production men)	(					6	100.0	-		6	(				
(C) Supervisory Levels	113	99.1	1	0.9	114	30	93.8	2	.06	32	287	100.0	-	-	278
(D) Production	2677	100.0	-	0.0	2677	214	100.0	-		214	792	90.3	85	10.7	877
(E) Clerical	259	98.9	3	1.1	262	39	92.9	3	.07	42	353	100.0	-	-	353
(F) Other Services	226	97.8	5	2.2	231	57	100.0	-	-	57	90	100.0	-	-	90
Total	3331	99.9	10	0.3	3341	358	98.6	5	1.4	363	1732	95.2	88	4.8	1820

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78 Federal Office of Statistics, "Industrial Survey, 1980," (unpublished).

A study of another integrated fibre and textiles company in Lagos showed similar results.[79] Women represented less than two per cent of a total work force of 3,568 employee. Twenty of the forty female workers were engaged in the administrative and personnel departments where they worked as clerks and typists. Eighteen others who worked in the filament, weaving and dyeing and printing departments did packing, labelling and loading of finished goods.[80]

Employment prospects in the modern sector textiles industry do not appear promising for women due to the use of heavy machinery. Clearly, this is a case where industrialization has replaced a traditionally female industry with a male dominated one. There are prospects for women as senior management, technical and professional personnel, but these categories represent a small proportion of the occupational structure. During the next two decades, there will be increased competition between the sexes for clerical jobs due to the rapid expansion of the educational system. Thus, it is unlikely that women will make significant gains in this type of employment in textiles.

2. Chemical Industry - Pharmaceuticals and Cosmetic Subsectors

Two subsectors of the chemical industry, pharmaceuticals and cosmetics, offer significant opportunities for women's modern sector industrial employment.

Until recently, Nigeria depended entirely on imports for its supply of modern pharmaceutical products. As incomes rose and the demand for modern medicine increased, Nigeria rapidly expanded its pharmaceutical imports. These imports were valued at 51.8 million Naira in 1972 and rose to 131.6 million Naira in 1977. This represented an annual increase in expenditure of about 32.8 per cent.[81]

There are three stages in pharmaceutical production. Stage 1, the most elementary stage, simply involves repackaging of finished products bought in bulk. Stage 2 entails the formulation of pharmaceuticals from half finished intermediary or raw materials. Stage 3, the most integrated manufacturing system, involves the actual production of basic raw materials and intermediaries.

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[79] Jide Komolafe, "The Impact of Economic Recession on Employment in a Textiles Manufacturing Industry in Nigeria: A Case Study of Nichemtex Industries Limited, Ikorodu", a paper submitted to the Department of Economics, University of Lagos, in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of B. Sc. (Honours) Economics, 1984.

[80] Ibid., p.37

[81] Fourth National Development Plan, p. 156.

Historically, most Nigerian based pharmaceutical companies were mere agents for the distribution of drugs manufactured by overseas parent companies. They engaged mostly in blending or repackaging already manufactured drugs. Therefore between 1973-1975 over 80 per cent of the total raw materials used in this industrial group were imported.82

In 1979, there were 27 local drugs manufacturing firms out of a total of over 100 marketing firms. All 27 firms engaged primarily in simple tablet making and mixing operations.83 None had basic product development facilities. The production of primary pharmaceutical materials using local raw materials has not yet developed in Nigeria.

Local production of pharmaceutical products has increased from 1.4 metric tons in 1972 to 8.9 metric tons in 1976.84 Although the number of reporting enterprises was about the same, employment in the pharmaceutical industry more than doubled between 1975 and 1980 from 1,768 to 3,573 suggesting some reorientation in production.85 However, at the same time due to rising demand, drug imports have also increased causing a heavy drain on foreign exchange. The large importation of pharmaceutical products renders the economy particularly vulnerable in national emergencies or in situations of international crisis. The pharmaceutical industry was not encouraged under the Third National Development Plan, 1975-1980, but under the Fourth Plan, it is a priority basic needs sector.

Compared to the textiles industry, the pharmaceutical industry is a scientific and technologically oriented industry. In the drug industry, therefore, approximately 20 per cent of the labour force in 1980 were professional, administrative and managerial personnel, and 41 per cent were operatives.86 As indicated earlier, only 3 per cent of the labour force in the textiles industry were in the former category and approximately

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82 Ibid., p.177.

83 Anetor A. Oforghor, "The Problems and Prospects of the Pharmaceutical Industry in Nigeria A Case Study of Pharchem Industries Limited, Ilupeju", a paper submitted to the Department of Economics, University of Lagos in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of B. Sc. (Honours) Economics, 1980, p. 18.

84 Fourth National Development Plan, p. 156.

85 Federal Office of Statistics, Industrial Survey 1975, 1980.

86 Federal Office of Statistics, Industrial Survey, 1980.

83 per cent in the latter category. Because of the nature of this industry, the percentage of the employees who are clerical officers (about 40 per cent) is also higher than in the textiles industry. One of the major problems of any company within this industry is the lack of scientific and technical manpower including chemists, pharmacists, pharmacologists and instrumental engineers. The pharmaceutical industry, because of its technological characteristics, offers expanding opportunities for the employment of Nigerian women. The industry's requirements for scarce scientific and technical manpower force the companies to compete for the available limited supply. In 1981, for example, the vacancy rate for industrial chemists was 78.4 per cent and 27.3 per cent for pharmacists.[87] In such a tight occupational labour market, pharmaceutical companies are receptive to hiring women scientific professionals. Some personnel managers interviewed also suggested that women, being more patient, were more suitable for quality control work. Such work was formerly done abroad by the parent companies but increasingly it is now being done in Nigeria. The Nigerian pharmaceutical companies do not as yet have research laboratories to investigate the potential use of indigenous raw materials for drugs. In the future, such activities may also generate jobs for female scientific personnel.

Although the pharmaceutical industry is capital intensive, part of the production activity is really light work requiring patience and dexterity. Such work does not involve the use of heavy machinery. In the pharmaceutical industry, production involves one or two shifts. There is no night work. Employers tend to favour women for such activities as packaging. In addition, there is a secondary women's employment generation effect. Nigerian managers, given indigenous cultural patterns, are more likely to hire women supervisors if there are women production workers.

A sample of five pharmaceutical companies shows that their female employers are at least 17 per cent of their total employees. In contrast, the highest percentage in the textiles sample was less than 5 per cent. All of the sampled pharmaceutical companies are limited liability companies located in Lagos. The majority of drug companies have been located in Lagos due to its high income population and the availability of raw materials. Significantly, the proportion of female production workers varies in the sampled drug companies from 24 to 84 per cent (Table 27), and all of these companies have hired women supervisors. All of the companies have also hired female senior technical and professional personnel, in particular companies C and D. In contrast to the textiles firms, some of the pharmaceutical firms have hired a much larger percentage of female clerical personnel. These women keep careful records on quality control. Pharmaceutical houses that produce baby products prefer women

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[87] Nigeria's_Manpower_Requirements,1981, p. 52-159.

Table 27

Occupational breakdown of Nigerian pharmaceutical companies

Job Classification	COMPANY A					COMPANY B					COMPANY C				
	Male	%	Female	%	Total	Male	%	Female	%	Total	Male	%	Female	%	Total
(A) Senior Managment															
i. Director and above	4	80.0	1	20.0	5	9	90.0	1	10.0	10	5	100.0	-	0.0	5
ii. Management															
a. Accountants											3	75.0	1	25.0	4
b. Technical (Chemists, etc.)	10	76.9	3	23.1	13	9	90.0	1	10.0	10	3	60.0	2	40.0	5
c. Professionals (Production Men)											2	66.7	1	33.3	3
(B) Supervising Levels	13	92.8	1	7.2	14	120	75.0	40	25.0	160	6	66.7	3	33.3	9
(C) Production	12	36.3	21	63.7	33	122	76.0	38	24.0	160	74	76.3	23	23.7	97
(D) Clerical	18	90.0	2	10.0	20	60	53.0	54	47.0	114	32	80.0	8	20.0	40
(E) Other Services	68	95.8	3	4.2	71	-	-	-	-	-	180	86.5	28	13.5	208
Total	125	80.1	31	19.9	156	320	70.5	134	29.5	454	305	82.2	66	17.8	371

Job Classification	COMPANY D					COMPANY E				
	Male	%	Female	%	Total	Male	%	Female	%	Total
(A) Senior Managment										
i. Director and above	4	100.0	-	0.0	4	8	100.0	-	0.0	8
ii. Management										
a. Accountants	3	100.0	-	0.0	3	14	82.1	3	17.6	17
b. Technical (Chemists, etc.)	1	50.0	1	50.0	2	26	92.9	2	7.1	28
c. Professionals (Production Men)	1	100.0	-	0.0	1	27	56.3	11	43.7	48
(B) Supervising Levels	26	96.3	1	3.7	27	60	88.2	8	11.8	68
(C) Production	4	16.0	21	84.0	25	36	25.0	108	75.0	144
(D) Clerical	7	24.1	22	75.9	29	95	89.6	11	10.4	106
(E) Other Services	181	98.9	2	1.1	183	68	779.1	18	20.9	86
Total	227	82.8	48	17.2	274	334	66.1	161	31.9	505

sales representatives. In addition, these companies often hire women as casual workers.

The cosmetics industry, which is related to the drug industry within the larger chemical group, presently employs a significant number of women. Since the industry is growing rapidly in response to rising incomes, it is likely to generate additional women's employment in the future. Between 1975 and 1980, the number of cosmetic industry employees rose from 6,261 to 12,569.[88] Five new companies were established in the late 1970's.

Although cosmetics and pharmaceuticals belong to the chemical industry, the occupational structure of their respective labour forces are somewhat different. The cosmetics industry employs a greater proportion of operatives and a smaller proportion of professional, administrative and managerial personnel. It is still a relatively scientific and technically based industry as compared to textiles. Almost 70 per cent of the cosmetics labour force are operatives, and eight per cent fall into the professional, administrative and managerial personnel categories. Approximately 23 per cent are clerical officers.[89]

Table 28

Occupational breakdown of a Nigerian cosmetics firm (1983)

	Male		Female		Total
	No.	%	No.	%	No
Executive & Management Staff	86	86.9	13	13.1	99
Technical & Foremen	81	69.8	35	30.2	116
Supervisors & Foremen	60	64.5	33	55.5	93
Clerical Staff	62	48.8	65	51.2	127
Factory Workers	154	41.4	218	58.6	372
Other Services	177	100.0	-	-	177

Source: Opukiri, "Effects of Recession," p. 41.

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[88] Industrial Survey, 1975 - 1980.

[89] Industrial Survey, 1980.

In terms of output the cosmetic industry is dominated by two major firms. Company E is one of these companies. This company produces only cosmetics, and significantly 36.7 per cent of its labour force are women (Table 28). The bulk of the female employees are factory workers.

Since over 58 per cent of this companies' production workers are women, a high proportion of the supervisors' are also women (35 per cent). Historically, this factory's operations have become increasingly mechanized, but there are still important labour intensive operations such as capping, labelling and bottle cleaning. The machines that mix ingredients and pour them into jars are operated by men, but the labour intensive functions are undertaken primarily by women (Table 29).

Table 29

Specialized job schedule by sex of a Nigerian Cosmetic Company, 1983

Job Description	Males	Females
Capping	---	33
Labelling	---	56
Cleaning Jars	---	79
Packaging	16	50
Automatic Machine Operators	4	-
Mixing Machine Operators	15	-

Source: Opukiri, "Effects of Recession," p. 44.

The men, as in the textiles industry, were deployed as machine operators because of their physical abilities as well as their legal ability to work three shifts. Women were considered to be more efficient at light, labour intensive functions.

In this cosmetics company, the current recession in Nigeria has had a greater impact on the male than on the female workers because of their differentiated functions. Between 1978-1983, the male labour force declined 61.1 per cent, while the female labour force fell by 35.3 per cent. During the period, there was a 58.3 per cent decline in the number of male mixing machine operators and a 35.3 per cent decline in the number of female employees who performed capping operations.[90] However, in the long run, as the cosmetics industry expands to meet rising consumer demand, it will probably become profitable to mechanize the capping, labelling and cleaning functions. The women workers will become technologically unemployed and will probably be replaced by a smaller number of male machine operators. This case study suggests that in the long run any industrialization strategy that encourages women to specialize in a particular modern sector "female" occupation within the manufacturing sector may lead to female structural unemployment due to technological substitution.

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[90] Opukiri, "Effects of Recession," p.45-48.

3. Agro-Industries (Food Processing)

In a self-reliant economy, food processing industries are vital to reducing post harvest losses, thereby limiting food imports. In the rural economy, Nigerian women, using exhausting labour intensive methods, have traditionally been the major processors of raw food materials.

The modern sector food processing industry is a conglomerate of diverse activities ranging from soft drink and tobacco production to grain mill products and fruit canning. Next to textiles, food processing is the most developed modern manufacturing sector There are a variety of ownership patterns within the food processing industry. For example, the majority of enterprises producing bakery products are single proprietorships; there are no public bakery enterprises. In contrast, there are ten public sector canning and preserving enterprises.[91]

During the last ten years, Nigerian food processing companies have grown rapidly. Indeed, the food processing industry has been characterized as being the major engine of growth in the modern manufacturing sector, particularly in the period 1975-1980.[92] During the decade, 179 new enterprises started operation. The growth rate of employment varied within the different food processing subdivisions. For example, between 1976 and 1980 soft drink and tobacco employment increased more than one and one-half times to 12,769 workers. Employment during the same period increased in the sugar, cocoa, chocolate, confectionary subdivision by 100 per cent, to 11,078 workers.

The food processing subdivisions also differ in terms of their employment base and occupational distribution. For example, in 1980, 2,206 workers were engaged in dairy production; 14,157 workers were distilling and blending spirits, 11,078 workers were preparing sugar, cocoa, confectionary products and 4,240 workers were producing grain mill products.[93] Table 30 shows that the occupational distribution of workers within the food processing subdivision varies due to differences in production techniques. In the meat products industry, the most labour intensive subdivision, 86 per cent of the labour force are operatives, while in the highly capital intensive soft drink and tobacco industry, only 49 per cent of the labour force are operatives.

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[91] *Industrial Survey 1980.*

[92] I.C. Imoisili, "Research Project on Conditions of Work and Life of Women in the Food Processing Industry in Africa (with special reference to canneries)," prepared for the International Labour Organization July 1983, unpublished.

[93] *Industrial Survey 1976, 1980.*

Table 30

Employment of Nigerians in Food Processing Industries by Occupational Category (1980)

Food Processing Subdivision	No. of firms	Professional, Administrative Managerial		Clerical and Others		Operatives		Total
		Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	%
Meat Products	3	46	4.9	86	9.0	823	86.2	100.0
Dairy Products	6	399	18.3	603	27.6	1184	54.2	100.0
Fruit Canning & Preserving	28	268	2.5	1378	12.8	9079	84.7	100.0
Grain Mill Products	11	305	7.3	604	14.4	3283	78.3	100.0
Bakery Products	219	486	5.0	1094	11.3	8121	83.7	100.0
Sugar Refining Cocoa, Chocolate, Confectionary	18	618	5.6	2064	18.8	8288	75.6	100.0
Prepared Animal Foods	4	69	15.1	55	12.0	334	72.9	100.0
Distilling & Blending, Spirits	14	955	6.8	2714	19.3	10413	74.0	100.0
Soft Drink & Tobacco	12	470	3.8	5801	47.2	6028	49.0	100.0

Source: Industrial Survey, 1980.

Since the modern food processing industry consists of a wide variety of manufacturing enterprises, a sample of three food processing companies in different subdivisions can give only an indication of the variety of female work experiences. Company A, an indigenous family owned company, produces processed and package foodstuffs such as gari, ground beans, and ground pepper. The company does not have a union and has a relatively small labour force of 100 workers. The top management consists of family members. Company B, a medium size state owned company, produces palm kernel oil using capital intensive production technique. Company C, a large multinational company with Nigerian equity control, produces a variety of cocoa, chocolate and confectionary products. This company, as a policy decision, first employed women in 1978.

In the food processing industry, as in textiles, women are not used on the factory floors for heavy machine operations. For this reason, Company B, the palm oil production enterprise, does not employ any female production workers. (Table 31). Company A, the indigenous multiproduct food company, uses men for machine milling operations, while women are used for lighter cleaning and packaging functions. Note that the majority of men in this company are engaged in production activities. This sexual division of labour on the factory floor has also been described in the Nigerian canning industry, where women are hired to perform packing and finishing functions.[94]

Company A, the indigenous nonunionized unionized company, has no women professional, technical or clerical personnel. This exclusion probably reflects two factors, one on the demand side and the other on the supply side. In this company, women's fringe benefits such as maternity leave are decididly less favourable, and the hours of work are longer than in the other two companies. The management claims that women workers are less serious than men and spend a lot of time away from their desks. Female operatives wash, clean or pick foodstuffs to be processed. They also run the plastic sealing machines, a job which the management describes as being monotonous and requiring care. Men were described as being too much in a hurry to do this job.

On the other hand, Company C, the multinational enterprise, hires a high proportion of women technical personnel who work in laboratories or develop new products and a large number of women clerical and administrative personnel. A similar trend has been described in the modern sector canning industry.[95] Female factory operatives perform capping, labelling and packing activities. Some feed the food hoppers for different mixing activities. The company also employs four female nursing sisters. The company runs a three shift operation, but by law the women employees only work during two shifts.

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[94] Imoisili, "Women in the Food Processing Industry," p.3.

[95] Ibid.

Table 31

Occupational breakdown for sampled modern sector food processing companies

Job Classification	COMPANY A					COMPANY B					COMPANY C		
	Male	%	Female	%	Total	Male	%	Female	%	Total	Male	%	Female
(A) Senior Management													
i. Director and above	2	66.7	1	33.3	3	2	66.7	1	33.3	3	6	100.0	-
ii. Management						(21	91.3	2	8.7	23			
a.Accountants	1	100.0	-	0.0	1	(					25	96.2	1
b. Technical (Chemists etc)	2	100.0	-	0.0	2	(					9	60.0	6
c. Professionals						(							
(Production)						(					83	48.8	1
d. All Administration						(					78	79.6	20
						(							
(B) Supervisory Levels	12	92.3	1	7.7	13	27	90.0	3	10.0	30	97	97.0	3
(C) Production						(59	100.0	-	0.0	59	1326	93.8	88
						(					(		
i.Milling						(					(		
ii.Cleaning	14	43.8	18	56.2	32	(					(		
iii.Packaging						(					(		
											(		
(D) Clerical	11	100.0	-	0.0	11	18	75.0	6	25.0	24	309	58.8	31
(E) Other Services	36	94.7	2	5.3	38	73	86.9	11	13.1	84			
Total	78	78.0	22	22.0	100	200	89.7	23	10.3	223	1933	91.9	170

Table 32 summaries the percentage of female employees in the sample companies of the three different modern sector industries. As has been noted, there is a substantial variation in these percentages by industry.

Table 32

Percentage of Female Employees in Sampled Nigerian Companies

Company	Female Employees as a Percentage of Total
a) Textiles	
Company A	0.3
Company B	1.4
Company C	4.9
b) Food Processing	
Company A	22.0
Company B	10.3
Company C	8.1
c) Pharmaceutical & Cosmetics	
Company A	19.9
Company B	29.5
Company C	17.8
Company D	17.2
Company E	31.9
Company F *	36.7

*Cosmetics Company

In general the following conclusions can be drawn from these modern sector case studies:

1) Heavy industries are likely to have few female production workers.

2) Female factory workers are likely to perform lighter, more labour intensive functions such as labelling, packaging and cleaning.

3) The larger the number of female production workers, the greater the number of female supervisory staff.

4) Few female workers are in top management or administrative positions.

5) Male factory operatives have different education- backgrounds than female operatives in some en- rises. If the male operatives are hired to run the ines and make minor electrical or mechanical repairs, oyers expect them to be graduates of trade centres. females are graduates of such institutions and are ble to make such repairs. Generally, as the supply of our in the market has increased, employers are insist- on higher educational qualifications from factory ratives. Whereas in the past they would hire in- iduals with primary six qualifications, they now hire kers with some secondary school.

6) In some companies, most of the casual workers are ien.

7) In scientific or technically based industries, ere is a growing demand for technical and professional rsonnel. This area represents an expanding opportunity r suitably trained modern sector women workers.

8) Female factory workers who perform light labour itensive such as functions labelling, or capping may in ie long run be technologically replaced by machines as oduction reaches critical levels or as labour costs ise. For example, the jobs that Nigerian female opera- ives do in pharmaceutical companies are often done by achines in the multinational parent company's factory broad.

9) There is a great deal of competition between the exes for clerical jobs within the manufacturing sector. n a market of labour surplus, any programmes which in- rease female labour costs such as Government legislated onger maternity leaves will cause employers to substitute male clerical employees for female workers. Males tend to be accounts clerks as women often lack suitable training.

10) Since women represent such a small proportion of the modern sector manufacturing labour force, it is unlikely that employers will be willing to invest in programmes such as daycare centres or creches that would help resolve women's dual role conflicts. Generally, modern sector employers have been arguing that labour costs have been rising due to pressures from Government or unions to provide housing and family health care facilities.

B. MODERN_SECTOR_INDUSTRIAL_SKILL_REQUIREMENTS AND_WOMEN'S_SKILLS

During the Industrial Development Decade for Africa, there will be a growing demand for modern sector managerial personnel, senior level scientific and technical officers as well as intermediate level scientific and technical personnel. Areas of occupational scarcity offer new opportunities for women's employment generation and improved earning potential. Yet these particular occupations, where they already exist, are not traditionally considered suitable for women. Moreover, as few women have prepared for such occupations, there are few role models for future generations of women to emulate. For example, at the University of Lagos in 1979 only 4 per cent of the engineering teaching staff were women, while at the Universities of Benin and Zaria in 1980 there were no female academics in engineering. At the three universities, less than 14 per cent of the lecturers in the science faculties were women.[96]

Although the numbers of female secondary, technology institute graduates and university graduates have been increasing, there seems to be little change in the percentage of women trained in the scientific and technical professions. Federal secondary schools provide similar technical workshops, curriculum, and facilities in single sex and mixed schools. Yet the attitudes of teachers pose a basic problem. Teachers tend to be conservative and through their influences on the students perpetuate traditional stereotyped sex roles. For example, boys, not girls, are encouraged to study technical drawing. There is also a tendency for the Government to provide the Federal Girls Schools with fewer teachers of mathematics, physics and chemistry than boys' schools.[97] Fewer girls than boys choose to take physics and chemistry in the School Certificate Examination, and many girls regard the required mathematics as a subject they can afford to neglect. This behaviour discourages Government's provision of sufficient numbers of teachers in their subjects to the Federal Girls' School Although girls in mixed schools have better science and mathematics teachers, there is no evidence that girls have any greater incentive to study these subjects. Generally, they are not considered girls' subjects. Unfortunately, a girl's career possibilities are heavily dependent on the subjects she chooses in secondary school.

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[96] C.C. Ntamore, "Choice of Career and the Effect on Income Differences Between men and Women", paper presented at the Conference of Women and Education held at the University of Port Harcourt, April 1984, p.8.; University_of_Lagos_Calendar, 1979-1981.

[97] E. Joyce Coker, "Training Women for Scientific and Technical Careers", a paper presented at the National Workshop on Women in the Modern Sector Labour Force in Nigeria held at the University of Lagos, March 1985, p.3-4.

In this context, career guidance by professionals at the secondary school stage who are prepared to provide "gender neutral" advice is extremely important. As E. Joyce Coker of the Federal Ministry of Education stresses:

> If a girl wants to be a medical doctor she makes the effort to learn science and mathematics. If she has a clear idea of what she wants to become, or the much wider opportunities available if she takes science, then she will make the effort. Girls are too often poorly guided and allowed to take the line of least resistance and concentrate on subjects they find easy and then try to find the career to fit.98

This is no wonder since Nigerian secondary students who have received any form of educational guidance in the past have usually gotten advice from their parents or relatives.

Under the Fourth National Development Plan, Federal and State governments have committed themselves to providing vocational counselling services to primary and post primary students. Yet, counsellors themselves may have to undergo special training designed to reinforce the idea that women should have equal opportunities in training as well as to break down their own individual prejudices concerning the unsuitability of certain jobs for women. Voluntary women's associations such as the Nigerian Association of University Women could also play a vital role in this regard by commissioning and distributing to schools literature, postcards or posters that appeal to girls and challenge traditional assumptions of career suitability.

The polytechnics and universities select students purely on the basis of examinations, without regard to gender. Women comprise only about 15 per cent of the polytechnic students, and the majority of these are in secretarial studies, catering and hotel management, food technology, business administration, accountancy and architecture.

Over 70 per cent of the secretarial studies students at the Yaba College of Technology in 1983 were women.99 In contrast, 7.9 per cent of the electrical engineering students and 10.3 per cent of the civil engineering students at the National Diploma level were women.100

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98 Ibid., p.4.

99 Coker, "Training Women," p.5-6.

100 Diane S. Enahoro, "Constraints to Women Entering Mid-level Technical Occupations in Nigeria", a paper presented at the Third Annual Women in Nigeria Conference, Port Harcourt, April 1984. Port Harcourt.

Unfortunately, within the last ten years, there has been been no substantial change in the number of women enrolled in the first year engineering courses at the National Diploma level at the Yaba College of Technology. However, it is encouraging to note that in 1983, 17.7 per cent of the accountancy students were women.101 In the past, accountancy was not seen as a women's occupation, although it is an area where women are readily employable in the industrial sector.

A survey of all women first year National Diploma Students enrolled in technical courses at the Yaba College of Technology in 1985 revealed that half of the female students had been pressured by the parents, relatives or friends not to take the technical course.

The majority when questioned what could be done to encourage more women to enter their course of study responded that correct information about the true nature of technical jobs should be made available to potential students. Overall 61 per cent said that it was the attitude of society that kept women out of these courses and, consequently, out of technical occupations. Concerning future employment, half of the female technical students at Yaba College of Technology said that they preferred working for the Federal Government and only 28 per cent preferred to work for the private sector. While 22 per cent anticipated self employment.102 Generally, the female technical students felt that the Federal Government, as an employer, showed less prejudice in employing females in jobs and offers greater security.

In the nation as a whole, the proportion of women students at the universities is still very low. In 1981-1982, only 16 per cent of the undergraduates and approximately 10 per cent of the graduate students were women.103 In the South, the number of women students has been increasing. For example, in 1970 only 12.6 per cent of the University of Lagos graduates were women as compared with 19.3 per cent in 1980. Yet, the percentage of women who were graduates in science and medicine declined between 1975 and 1980. No woman graduated in engineering or environmental design in these years.104 Finally, there is very little opportunity for girls in the various technical colleges in most sections of the country. Most colleges are single sex institutions except in the Southwest and the Federal Technical College

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101 Coker, "Training Women," p. 5.

102 Enahoro, "Constraints to Women," pp. 10,12.

103 Coker, "Training Women," p.5.

104 Planning Office, University of Lagos, unpublished data.

at Yaba.[105] The few female only schools provide training for traditional women's occupations - catering, dressmaking and secretarial courses. In the Southwest, girls are admitted on equal terms with boys to learn any trade they like. The girls tend to favour refrigeration and air conditioning, painting and decorating and electronics. Welding, fabrication, plumbing and mechanical engineering attract few girls.

A general problem is that Government planners in states such as Bauchi believe that industry offers few training opportunities and jobs for women.[106] They believe that attention should be given to encouraging women's entry into agriculture and small scale industries and activities more connected with traditional domestic roles. Therefore, the training programmes for women they design follow along traditional lines.

However, during the Industrial Development Decade for Africa, it is imperative that more women undertake technical activities in order to contribute to the growth of the national economy, to have access to highly paid jobs and to be in a position to help develop new technologies which will affect women's lifestyles and working conditions both at home and at the workplace. As Sarah David, a Nigerian electrical engineer, stated:

> The more women are involved in working or getting educated in various fields of study, the more the need for modernization of the household will become apparent. Then the creative mind will start searching for ways to solve the many household problems we women are faced with every day.[107]

C. EMPLOYERS' ATTITUDES AND WOMEN'S MODERN SECTOR INDUSTRIAL EMPLOYMENT

Increasingly, modern sector collective bargaining agreements, such as the Procedural and Collective Agreement Between the Nigerian Textile, Garment, Tailoring Workers of Nigeria, have clauses that reaffirm the commitment of management not to discriminate against workers because of race, creed, colour, sex or religion. Yet, in reality the fulfillment of this commitment depends to a great extent on the attitude of personnel managers to the employment of women in particular enterprises. For example, it is generally argued that there are few women technicians in factories since few women attend technical colleges. However, personnel managers of the pharmaceutical enterprises selected for the core industry case study were asked whether they would hire female technicians if they were suitably trained. One male personnel manager, reflecting a more liberal position, said he would hire women if available and that he felt women would be particularly adapted to undertaking electronic repair work. In contrast, a more conservative male colleague in another Lagos pharmaceutical company remarked that he would not hire women technicians until the day women started driving heavy trucks in Nigeria. Such prejudicial attitudes seem likely to continue to limit the scope of women's modern sector industrial activities until there are more women managers or severe labour shortages in certain occupational categories force male managers to reevaluate their operational policies.

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[105] *Ibid.*, p. 5.

[106] Carol Martin, "Skill-Building or Unskilled Labour for Female Youth: A Bauchi Case" in Oppong, *Female and Male*, p.231.

[107] Sarah David, "Women and Industrial Training: Personal Experiences", a paper presented at the Third Annual Women in Nigeria Conference held at Port Harcourt, April 1984, p.5.

Generally, Nigerian personnel managers express a variety of negative views concerning the hiring of women workers. For example, they emphasize that female workers, particularly junior staff, lack work commitment and are absent more than male workers because of pregnancy and problems related to childcare. Some indigenous companies will therefore hire only older women who are not likely to have additional children and related childcare problems.

Yet, some companies' records do not show a higher female absenteeism rate and other companies policies may actually encourage the differential rate. Many private sector companies, in contrast to public sector employers, provide health care facilities only for their employees and not for their families; such enterprises argue that expensive family health care programmes should be the social responsibility of the Government; employers should not bear the cost. These companies, in order to minimize their labour costs, would prefer to give women workers time off with pay to take their children to well-baby clinics, private doctors offices or hospitals, rather than to provide family health care at the factory site.

D. NIGERIAN WOMEN AND THE TRADE UNION MOVEMENT

Women modern sector workers have concerns which are not priority issues with their male counterparts. Issues such as the following affect their work behaviour and general well being:

1) The availability of childcare facilities at or near the place of work.

2) The provision of family health care services for spouse and children at or near the place of work.

3) The provision of gynaecological health services and family planning facilities as part of company health programmes.

4) Increased training opportunities for women workers.

5) The development of "gender neutral" collective bargaining agreements which treat all workers the same regardless of sex in terms of leave allowances, transfer allowances, etc.

However, such negotiable issues are not likely to be issues of concern for the unions, since there are no female trade union leaders in decision making positions supported by an active female rank and file. It should be remembered that all Nigerian workers are automatically members of the 42 industrial unions, and their union dues are deducted from the payroll by their employers. Women are automatically financially supporting the union; but as the unions have an active male membership and male leadership, their interests are not necessarily being furthered. Since women are a small proportion of the industrial labour force, the formation of national industrial unions has made it even more difficult for women to have a significant impact on union affairs. However, even in those unions where women workers represent a significant proportion of the legal membership, such as the teachers union, the union leadership is predominantly male. Although women constitute about 15 per cent of the total work force, only about 2.5 per cent of the 15 per cent actively participate in trade union activities. The active women participants are found mostly in private sector employment.108

The following factors have discouraged women's attendance and active participation in trade union affairs:

(1) Cultural values which give power positions to males and require women to be submissive.

(2) The uneven division of labour within the home.

(3) Husbands' resentment of wives' union activities. They fear that if women learn power techniques at union meetings, they will demand more at home.

(4) Women's fears that they may lose their jobs, if they actively participate in union affairs.

(5) Women workers' limited education and lack of confidence in themselves.

(6) Male trade unionists' conservative attitudes

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108 Cecy M. Olajumoke, "Women's Participation in Trade Unions", a paper presented at the National Workshop on Women in the Modern Sector Labour Force in Nigeria", March 1985, University of Lagos, Lagos, p.3.

and lack of desire to encourage women unionists.109

Few women are professional trade unionists or elected officials. There is no woman who has been elected as a member of the Executive of the Nigeria Labour Congress, Nigeria's central trade union. Generally, women would like to be selected for union posts, few are willing to stand election on equal terms with men. Moreover, within the trade unions themselves, there exists a male oligopoly structure unwilling to permit female penetration. No women is a chief executive or general secretary of a trade union.

The constitution of the National Labour Congress provides for a women's department within the organizations. Unfortunately, this is the only department of the central labour organization that has not been organized. However in August 1982, an ad hoc organization, the Women's Wing of the Lagos State Council of the Nigeria Labour Congress, was launched. The Women's Wing of Lagos State has 300 members from different industrial unions. Subsequently, women's wings were organized in two other states. These bodies are not constitutionally recognized organs of the Nigeria Labour Congress.

The purposes of the women's wings are to:

(1) Make women more aware of the functions of trade unions;

(2) Educate women for leadership roles;

(3) To teach women how to interact with male counterparts at union meetings.110

Part Three: CONCLUSIONS

If Nigerian women are to play a more predominant role in a restructured modern industrial sector, several preconditions must exist. First, women must have a stronger career orientation and expect to compete on equal terms with men. They must be prepared to grow with the job, have confidence in their own abilities and not expect pampered treatment. Secondly, they must acquire training and skills that will be in short supply. Women must be willing to enter, perhaps with difficulty, traditionally male occupations. Thirdly, they must recognize that it is only

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109 Interview with Mrs. Olajumoke, (Assistant General Secretary of the National Union of Banks, Insurance and Financial Institutions Employees and Secretary of the Women's Wing of the Lagos State Council of the Nigeria Labour Congress), September, 1984.

110 Ibid.

through collective association with other women that some of the constraints that limit their participation in industry will be removed. Fourthly, women, must consider how traditional values and stereotypes limit their economic activities and have the courage to engage in innovative behaviour. Finally, Government programmes and policies, designed with an input from women themselves, must actively encourage women's industrial activities.

V. TANZANIA: WOMEN, SOCIALISM, AND THE GOVERNMENT'S BASIC INDUSTRIALIZATION STRATEGY

by Laeticia Theresa Mukurasi

INTRODUCTION

The basic assumption of this case study is that the objectives of the IDDA will be realized only if women are part of the effective utilization of Africa's human resources for development. Though women have played a role in Tanzania's industrialization, it has rarely been acknowledged. Part of the contribution they have made has been indirect, in reproducing and maintaining the labour force. Their direct contribution to the labour force has also been critical in some sectors. However, women in Tanzania have not been employed in sufficient numbers to have an impact on industrialisation policies. Their opportunities for integration have been limited, partly by the fact that they have lagged behind their male counterparts in education, training and skills and partly by attitudes about proper roles for women. Employment in industry for some women has proved to be the main entry into paid employment, since customary laws have prevented many women from earning incomes from the land in their own capacities.

The minimal integration of women in industrialization to date has occurred purely by chance and not by conscious effort on part of the Government or private planners. The major reason for the employment of women in industry has been economic, in that women constitute a cheap source of labour. They, unlike the male labour force, do not normally constitute a volatile labour force and do not form strong trade unions. Such a haphazard incorporation of women in industrialisation, especially in the light of the IDDA objectives, cannot be desirable. Government planners, policy makers and strategists need to incorporate and integrate women's programmes into national development plans. The aim is to make women's integration in development a conscious and a planned effort and not to leave it to the forces of market determinism. The opportunity still exists for Africa to shape its industrialisation differently. This difference will come about only as a consequence of positive action by all concerned.

Part One: MACRO LEVEL ISSUES

A. PATTERNS OF TANZANIAN INDUSTRIALISATION AND INDUSTRIAL POLICY

The present pattern of Tanzanian industrialisation is the consequence to a large extent of activities during the colonial regime and the postindependence period.

1. The Colonial Phase

The spur for industrialisation was not endogenous but rather was imposed from outside. The European powers which had begun to industrialise felt the need for new sources of raw materials, food for their growing populations and new markets for their industrial products. Systematic European colonisation ensued and was characterised by the following elements:

(a) The establishment of the plantation system. Under this system, agricultural crops such as sisal and cotton provided over half of Tanzania's total export earnings.

(b) The introduction of metropolitan oriented cash crops to the African peasantry.

(c) The establishment of financial institutions and other infrastructure which were to serve the production system. These included the major means of transport such as the railway lines, roadways and ports; all were geared to facilitating easy access of raw materials to the metropolitan country.

All decisions concerning capital investment and production were made in the mother country. The colony, on the other hand, was primarily an entity for supplying raw materials. Its main productive activities were limited to crude production.

By the time of independence, Tanzania had a very rudimentary industrial structure which exhibited the following characteristics:

1. A low percentage share of capital goods and high share of luxury consumer goods.

2. The major industrial activities involved the import substitution of the luxury items that were previously imported from the metropole as well as the processing of local raw materials for export.

3. Foreign owned firms tended to be capital intensive.

4. There were no economic linkages between the different sectors of the economy.

5. The manufacturing industry was predominantly foreign owned.

6. Industrialisation encouraged and reinforced regional differentiation and led to class formation.

7. Industrialisation led to growing inequalities between the sexes. It tended to favour male employment at the expense of female opportunities.

At independence, Tanzania's political leadership did not try to alter significantly the course of Tanzania's industrial development. The first Five Year Development Plan, 1964-1969, proposed a continuation of import substitution investments.[1] The only difference was that it would embrace a wider range of activities. Processing of local raw materials was also to be expanded. Since indigenous capital was virtually nonexistent, foreign investment was seriously courted by the Government, providing a combination of incentives such as depreciation allowances, tariff protection and guarantees for the repatriation of capital. It was envisaged that the lion's share of total industrial investment would come from the private sector.

The attainment of independence dic not lead to the acquisition of business control by Tanzanians, nor did it lead to the establishment of an integrated industrial structure. The newly independent Government, allowed private foreign investors to take the lead in industrialisation. There was no effort to change the ownership pattern that had been in existence prior to independence. No attention was paid to the appropriateness of production techniques or the existing market structure. The Government alsc did not give sufficient attention to the imbalance in the acquisition of education and skills between Africans and foreigners on one hand and between men and women on the other. Thus, the attainment of independence did not alter the existing pattern of manufacturing. However during the period 1961-1965, manufacturing activities increased by one third.

Yet industrial investment did not reach the level anticipated by the Five Year Plan. When the expected foreign investment on which the success of the plan depended did not materialise, this affected the performance of all sectors. GDP in current prices increased at 5 per cent instead of the projected 6.7 per cent. Per capita income grew at an average rate of 2.3 per cent per annum compared to the expected rate of 4 per cent. However, some achievements were made. For example, the composition of the GDP changed, with the share of agriculture decreasing from 52.3 per cent in 1964 to 43.2 per cent in 1969, while the contribution of industry rose from 6.6 per cent to 10 per cent in the same period.[2]

2. Industrialisation_in_the_Post_Arusha_Declaration_period

The Arusha Declaration of 1967 had a serious impact on Tanzania's development path in general and on industrialisation in particular. Development was to be achieved based on the concepts of socialism, equality and self reliance. The existing trend of reliance on private investment was to be reversed.

The essential features of the new policy were threefold: first, the public sector was to play a major role in the development programme. Second, the importance of human resources to the development process was realized. Third, private investment was no longer to be the major source of capital.

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[1] The United Republic of Tanzania, Tanganyika_Five_Year_Plan for_Economic_and_Social_Development,_1_July_1964_-_30_June_1969 (Dar es Salaam, 1964).

[2] Justinian Rweyemamu, Underdevelopment_and_Industrialisation_in Tanzania (London: 1973), pp. 82-85.

Tanzania's Second Five Year Development Plan, 1969-1974, the first subsequent to the Arusha Declaration, set out an important role for industry. 3 The contribution of agriculture, mining and fisheries to the GDP was to be reduced from 50 per cent to 39 per cent, while the contribution of manufacturing was to increase from 6 per cent to 13 per cent. Industry was to produce not only import substitution goods but, in addition, intermediate and capital goods. The Plan also sought to encourage the use of labour intensive techniques, the development of small scale industries and the decentralization of industry.

The Arusha Declaration paved the road for the Government to change profoundly the pattern and policies of industrialisation in Tanzania. It affected the ownership of the means of production as well as the means of distribution. After the Declaration, the Government nationalised all commercial banks, most import and export firms, eight milling firms with associated food manufacturing interests and the National Insurance Corporation. The Government also acquired compulsory shares of up to 60 per cent in seven major industries.

However, the post Arusha strategy has been criticized because it actually brought expansion in the production of import substituting light manufacturing without a strong structural reorientation towards the production of machinery and transport equipment. 4 Some attention, however, was paid towards the production of intermediate goods such as steel, aluminium pipes and cables.

In addition, although there was a significant increase in the number of parastatal institutions, an analysis of the accounts of the parastatals of 1966-1977 and the Ministry of Planning Economic Survey of 1977-1980 revealed that the major share of production was still in the hands of the private firms. 5 For example, by 1979, the ratio of parastatal value added to total industrial value added was only 25 per cent.

In the postindependence era of 1961 to 1980, Tanzania continued to followed an industrialization pattern of primary product processing and light import substitution manufacturing (Table 33). Only an insignificant group of heavy and intermediate goods was established. For a country striving towards self-reliance, these industries tended to be highly import dependent, including such industries as fertilisers, petroleum, tyres, aluminium, steel rolling and metal

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3 Ministry of Planning and Economic Affairs, *The First Union Five Year Development Plan 1981-1986*

4 Rweyemamu, *Underdevelopment and Industrialisation*, p. 62.

5 *Analysis of Accounts of Parastatal* and Ministry of Planning, *Economic Survey 1977-1980*, Table A: 24 of Appendix 1.

products. Tanzanian's industrialisation strategy continued to be a simple import substitution programme rather than a basic industrialisation strategy.

Table 33

Structure of Gross Output in Tanzanian manufacture, 1969-1978 (at current prices)

	Gross output (TShs million)					Share of total %				
	1969	1974	1976	1977	1978	1969	1974	1976	1977	1978
Consumer goods	964	2050	2875	3350	4049	63.3	52.7	51.4	50.8	58.6
Textiles and clothing	228	392	520	581	891	15.0	10.1	9.3	8.8	12.9
Intermediate goods	392	1441	1938	2282	2159	25.7	37.1	34.7	34.6	31.2
Capital goods	140	294	568	725	598	9.2	7.6	20.3	11.3	8.7
Other	27	103	203	222	103	1.8	2.7	3.7	3.4	1.5
Total	1523	3888	5584	6589	6910	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Tanzania, like many other Third World countries, experienced a slowdown in the rate of growth of real GDP, agricultural production and exports in the 1970's. Adverse trends that led to a balance of payment problems and foreign exchange shortages included a substantial deterioration in the Tanzanian terms of trade, a drought, necessitating food imports, a war with Uganda, the collapse of the East African Community and an acute scarcity of skilled managers, administrators and technicians in the public sector.

After the Arusha Declaration, small scale enterprises became even less significant as major production activities were undertaken by public sector institutions. The planned decentralization of industry did not take place. The main manufacturing activities remain clustered in the traditional areas such as Dar es Salaam, Tanga, Arusha and Mwanza.

In its bid to increase self reliance and safeguard its socialist goals, the Tanzanian Government formulated its Basic Industrialisation Strategy (BIS) as part of the Long Term Industrial Strategy for 1995. The Third Five Year Development Plan (1 July 1976 - 30 June 1981) was the first of four five year plans in which the BIS was to be implemented. 6 The implementation of this strategy is now well into its second five year plan period. The major objective of the BIS was the establishment of domestic based heavy industry with the aim of moving away from the present pattern whereby Tanzania's resources go largely into the production of exports and simple consumer goods, while capital goods are imported. BIS also provided for the development of industries to meet the basic needs of the people. The objectives of the BIS are very similar to those for industrialisation in the Lagos Plan of Action.

The Long Term Industrial Strategy identified seven national goals to be achieved through industrial development. These were:

(a) Industrial growth: During the Third Five Year Plan, a target rate of growth for manufacturing was put at 9.3 per cent as compared to 6 per cent for the total GDP.

(b) Structural change: The desired structural change was expected to be achieved by channelling resources into the manufacture of a broad range of consumer intermediate and capital goods, which would eventually evolve an integrated economic structure capable of sustaining growth.

(c) Employment Generation: More jobs would be created to curb unemployment and absorb the unemployed in agriculture.

(d) Income Distribution: Equality of income would be promoted through industrial development, along with other policy instruments.

(e) Regional Distribution: Imbalances in regional development were to be curbed.

(f) Worker Participation: The BIS was expected encourage worker participation in management.

(g) Self Reliance: This goal, emanating from the Arusha Declaration, was to reduce dependence on the outside world. 7

One of the main objectives of the BIS was to produce first the basic needs of the people. Such a policy is likely to favour industries such as food processing, textiles, clothing and footwear. Indigenous resources would be used to supply the basic needs industries with inputs required for production. These include metal fabrication industries that supply machinery, spare parts and

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6 Third Five Year Plan for Economic and Social Development 1 July 1976 - 30 June 1981

7 S.M. Wangwe, "The Long Term Industrial Strategy Revisited." Paper presented at the Seminar for Industrialists organised by the Ministry of Industries, Arusha, 6-10 March 1984.

construction materials. Finally, intermediate goods would be produced such as glass, cement, plastic products, leather, wood products, paper, printing chemicals and fertilizers.

The sectoral distribution of capital investment during the first phase of the BIS was to be as follows:

Table 34

Sectoral Distribution of Capital Investment
in Tanzania, 1976-1981

	Amount in (Sh'000)	Percentage
Agriculture	3,331,840	12.35
Livestock	630,306	2.34
Natural Resources	416,701	1.54
Mining	923,296	3.42
Industry	7,196,496	26.68
Commerce and Tourism	576,664	2.14
Water	1,472,742	5.46
Construction	2,678,740	9.93
Power	1,352,790	5.01
Communications and Transport	2,204,735	8.17
Education and Culture	1,717,347	6.37
Health	778,119	2.88
Administration and Others	3,697,575	13.71
Total	26,978,301	100.00

Source: *Third Five Year Development Plan for Economic and Social Development 1 June 1976 - 30 June 1981*

It is evident from Table 34 that industry in the BIS era has received a lion's share of capital investment, thus showing the Tanzanian Government's determination to create a self integrated economy based on industrialisation. It was also envisaged that the share of capital goods in relation to all other goods would increase very significantly from 1974 levels (Table 35).

The objective of the BIS may take a long time to be achieved due to technical, financial and resource constraints. Industries continue to be highly import dependent as Tanzania lacks its own capital goods industry. Also, Tanzania still relies heavily on foreign financing. In the financial year 1980-1981 alone, Tanzania received Tshs. 1,331,284 from external sources out of which Tsh. 360,380 went into manufacturing. Another problem is the lack of requisite skills necessary for BIS. In addition, foreign exchange constraints due to the fall in the world price of Tanzania's primary and manufactured exports make it impossible for Tanzania to initiate some essential industries of the BIS. Last but not least, insufficient agricultural production creates bottlenecks in the supply of raw materials to industry.

Table 35

Structural Changes in Manufacturing Sectors

Sector	1974 (Actual)	1980 (Target)	1985 (Target)
1. Steel & Engineering Industries	15.3	14.8	30.3
2. Chemical Industries	16.2	18.0	16.3
3. Food Beverages and Tobacco	32.0	29.1	21.3
4. Wood & Paper Products	11.5	10.6	9.9
5. Minerals (Other than Iron & Steel)	4.0	6.0	3.6
6. Textiles, Leather goods & Sisal	21.0	21.5	18.7

Source: *The First Five Year Union Development Plan 1981-1982 to 1985-1986*.

The net result of the above mentioned constraints has been dilution of the BIS objectives (which give priority to basic needs, capital and intermediate goods), in the following way:

(a) There has been a continuation of investment in industries under progress, since the cost of changing them or abandoning them would be too high. Such investments are in industries that do not fall under the BIS programme.

(b) The processing industry has continued to expand due to its contribution to foreign exchange earnings which are necessary for the establishment of some BIS industries. It may be necessary to reduce the speed of structural change because the capability for earning foreign exchange is dependent on the very industries which the BIS would reduce in importance. [8]

(c) Major manufactured exports are food preparations, beverages, tobacco, chemicals, manufactured intermediate goods and assembled goods. A large portion of what is produced is not locally consumed but exported to promote foreign exchange earnings. As the Minister of Industries in his 1981-1982 budget speech stated, foreign exchange earning activities are to be promoted even if it means starving the domestic market to a certain extent. [9]

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[8] Speech by the Honourable B.P. Mramba, MP, Minister for Industries, to the budget session of the National Assembly for 1981-1982 period, Dar es Salaam, 1981.

[9] *Ibid*.

Overall industrial performance in Tanzania has been far from satisfactory. Whereas industrial capacity has continued to expand, the problem of underutilisation of capacity at the enterprise level remains. Other problems have been lack of skilled manpower in management and technical fields, water, or power interruptions and transportation problems. It is not surprising that contribution of the industrial sector to total GDP has actually been declining since 1972, reaching its lowest level of 5 per cent in 1982. The targets of the Basic Industrialisation Strategy are far from being achieved. The problems of achieving industrial self sufficiency have a historical origin from which Tanzania still finds it difficult to disengage itself. But by far the greatest impediment to Tanzania's self sufficiency is its lack of a capital goods industry. Industrial development in the future is hard to predict, but Tanzania's untapped natural and human resources constitute a great potential for industrialisation.

B. NATURE AND CONTROL OF INDUSTRIAL OWNERSHIP

In the first Five Year Development Plan, the Tanzanian Government adopted an industrial strategy that encouraged private entrepreneurs to produce both for local consumption and for export. The public sector was apportioned only the role of filling in the gaps left by private investment and developing the necessary infrastructure.

In 1967 the Government, after announcing the Arusha Declaration, placed the major means of production and exchange in the hands of the people through their Government. In terms of ownership, industries were divided into the following categories:

- Wholly Government-owned industries in activities such as armament manufacturing;

- Partly Government-owned industries such as basic industries in which the Government acquired controlling voting power by purchasing a majority of shares;

- Joint ventures on which a large section of the population depends for its living and in which the Government or its appointed agencies play an active role;

- Private industries which are open to both domestic and foreign investors.

The Government exercises control over the manufacturing activities of its parastatal institutions through the ministries and holding corporations. Each subsidiary is attached first to a holding corporation and then to a parent ministry. The holding company has power over investment decisions, appointment of senior management, and approval of accounts of subsidiary companies. The Ministries, in turn, have power to make appointments of senior officials of the holding corporations and also provide the link between Parliament and all bodies under their control.

Government owned industries were selected to meet the basic needs of the people. Public industrial enterprises are predominant in the iron and steel industry and control 98.8 per cent of this industry including the manufacturing of metal, construction materials, metal containers and farm implements and spare parts. Among the paper based industries, the Government controls 74 per cent of the output. Government is also predominant in the manufacture of tyres, fertilizers and pharmaceuticals. In the textile sector, out of about 100 establishments only five are public sector enterprises. But, due to their size, the textile industry is a predominantly public sector activity. Leather production is also controlled by the public sector which produces 60 per cent of the shoe output and does 100 per cent of all leather tanning.

It is significant to note the increasing role of public industrial enterprises in the production of iron and steel. In recent years, the productive capacity of Government steel rolling mills and the billet casting unit has been expanded. New projects have also started, especially in transport equipment manufacture.

These developments suggest that in the future, ownership control will increasing shift from private to public hands. The public sector will in the long run play a considerable role in spearheading the structural change of the economy.

Lack of data about the private sector constitutes a major problem in trying to determine the range of activities that it engages in. However, these activities are not limited to the production of goods for local consumption. It is significant that during the last industrial census, carried out in 1974, out of 524 manufacturing establishments, 477 were private companies; the contribution of the private sector to industrial GDP was almost 50 per cent.

The private sector plays a major role in the production of household metal products, electrical equipment, motor vehicle bodies, agricultural machinery, aluminium fabricated furniture, concrete pipings, construction equipment, stationery and clothing. Thus the private sector is actively participating in the production of basic consumer goods and intermediate goods.

However, a serious problem is that the Government has not properly delineated the role of the private sector in the Tanzanian economy. For example, during the preparations of the Second and Third Five Year Development Plan and the Union [Second] Five Year Development Plan, the contribution of the private sector was not included. Uncertainty about the future of industry caused some of the private firms to let their capital equipment deteriorate and others to leave the country. Moreover, some industries initially left to the private sector were later nationalised. However, to remedy the situation, the Ministry of Planning and Economic Affairs established the Department of Private Sector Monitoring which has establisned a register of private industries.

Both the private and public sector have played an important role in employment generation. Industrial employment almost doubled between 1970 and 1980, with an average annual growth rate of 6.2 per cent.[10] Significantly, the employment of women in private sector enterprises occurred at a slow rate, rising from 4358 in 1969 to 8202 in 1980, thus representing a net change of 53.1 per cent. Women in the public sector rose in number from 2463 in 1969 to 16,442 by 1980, thereby registering a 600 per cent increase.[11] This trend is important for women, since in the future the role of Government as the major employer is likely to grow.

C. FACTORS AFFECTING WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION IN THE INDUSTRIALISATION PROCESS

1. Legislation

In Tanzania, the position of the women is theoretically equal to that of men. In the Arusha Declaration, it is categorically stated that there should be no exploitation of one person by another, and that everyone who is physically able to work must do so. Moreover, every worker must obtain a just return from the labour he or she performs.

The Government has enacted legislation to safeguard the rights of women and ensure equal opportunities for women in employment. As far as the conditions of service are concerned, both men and women are entitled to the same salary and fringe benefits provided they have the necessary qualification and experience. According to the Government Standing Orders, all employment will be open to women who are suitably qualified and there will be no difference between the salary or other terms of service of men and women officers of equivalent qualification and experience.[12] The Government has also given an entitlement to all women, regardless of their marital status, of 84 days maternity leave with full pay once in every three years. However, the maternity provisions have been viewed negatively by employers, especially in the private sector and have been one of the reasons why fewer women than men are employed. In a Government directive to parastatal organisations on fringe benefits, for example, employers are directed not to discriminate against women when providing housing, leave transport al-transport allowances and medical benefits.13 Other legislation include laws prohibiting women from doing manual work in the mines or undertaking night work after 11 p.m., except in the medical professions.

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[10] United Nations Industrial Development Organization, *The Potential for Resource-based Industrial Development in the Least Developed Countries: the United Republic of Tanzania* (Vienna: 1982), p. 43.

[11] Bureau of Statistics, *Survey of Employment and Incomes*.

[12] Government Standing Orders, Section D 20.

[13] SCOPO Directive No. 44: Clarification on Fringe Benefits for Women Workers in Parastatal Organisation - 10 June 1981.

2. Demographic and Historical Factors

The 1978 Census showed that Tanzanian women constituted 50.9 per cent of the population of nearly 18 million.14 Of these, 87 per cent lived in rural areas. Women of working age (15-64) constituted 50.7 per cent of all women in Tanzania, or 51.9 per cent of the total working age population.

Although Tanzanian women comprise the majority of the population, their participation in industrial employment is low. In 1962, women constituted only 6 per cent of the total industrial labour force.15 By 1973, the proportion of women in industrial employment had risen to 8.8 per cent and in 1980, the proportion increased further to 15.6 per cent.16

In view of the objectives of the IDDA the utilization of women in industrial employment is unsatisfactory. For example, the total number of women in industrial employment in 1980 was 73,256. This implies that in this year female industrial employees constituted only 0.8 per cent of all women.

Any explanation of women's employment patterns in Tanzania today can only be understood in terms of historical perspective. By far the most pervasive historical factor was colonialism. At the onset of colonialisation, the economy was dominated by subsistence agriculture. The role of women was equally important to that of men. A union between a man and woman was considered to be a union of specialists with women playing an important role in farming, weaving, drawing water, processing and storage of food. The men hunted, prepared the farm for planting and guarded the tribe against external invaders. In such a society, both men and women recognized the interdependence of their roles.

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13 SCOPO Directive No. 44: Clarification on Fringe Benefits for Women Workers in Parastatal Organisation - 10 June 1981.

14 Bureau of Statistics, 1978 Population Census, Vol. IV: A Summary of Selected Statistical (Dar es Salaam, 1962)

15 Bureau of Statistics, Survey of Employment and Earning 1962 (Dar es Salaam).

16 I.S.L. Sembajwe: "The Effect of the Changing Position of Women on Family, Size and Child Survival in the United Republic of Tanzania", in Final Report on the National Seminar on Population and Development in the United Republic of Tanzania (Geneva: International Labour Office, 1980), pp. 117 - 131.

Table 36

Proportion of Tanzanian Women in Employment 1973-1980
by Major Industrial Divisions (Percentage)

MAJOR INDUSTRIES	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980
Agriculture Forestry and Fishing	3.2	4.0	4.3	4.0	4.0	5.0	7.5	6.4
Mining and Quarrying	4.9	6.6	6.8	7.6	7.8	8.2	8.9	8.9
Manufacturing	9.0	9.8	12.9	9.3	10.3	10.5	11.3	12.0
Electricity and Water	3.1	4.0	4.7	4.9	4.1	4.4		
Construction	1.0	1.4	1.6	2.7	3.2	2.9	3.4	3.7
Commerce	9.0	8.5	9.4	9.4	11.0	8.1	12.7	12.7
Transport and Communication	3.0	4.2	3.8	3.6	4.1	4.8	4.8	5.4
Finance	24.3	23.7	22.3	22.5	22.9	21.5	22.7	22.8
Services	18.7	19.5	11.0	20.5	20.5	23.5	26.5	26.4
Total	8.8	10.1	10.4	10.4	11.2	12.8	14.9	15.6

Source : Calculated from Statistical Abstract 1973 to 1979 and
Bureau of Statistics, Survey of Employment and
Earnings 1979 - 1980 (Dar es Salaam)

Since the colonies were desired as sources of raw materials, policies were designed for their extraction. Such policies included the expropriation of land for European settlement as well as the creation of reserves for Africans who would constitute the resident labour force for plantation agriculture. Other measures included the imposition of the hut tax and the prohibition of Africans from growing certain cash crops which would be the preserve of European agriculture. The net effect of these colonial policies was that men migrated to the urban centres and reserves, leaving women to assume additional tasks which under the traditional division of labour had been performed by men.

The first reason, therefore, that accounts for the low level participation of women in employment is that men had a head start in being integrated into the modern economy, while women were mostly left in rural areas where they continued to cultivate according to peasant modes of production. The situation, however, was not the same all over Tanzania. In some parts, women's integration into the modern sector began earlier than in other areas. For example, as early as 1947 there were women wage labourers in Moshi District who worked on the farms of richer peasants and plantations.17

3. The Migration Factor

Industrial activities have concentrated in the urban centres, as they constituted the central points for communication and for the transfer of goods both to and from the rural areas and the metropolitan centres. Given the living conditions in urban areas and wages barely sufficient to meet the cost of living for one person, only men migrated to sell their labour and women were left behind. It was only after national independence with the proclamation of a minimum wage that made it possible for women to migrate to towns with their husbands.18

By 1971 women constituted 54 per cent of all migrants, whereas in 1950 women were only 33 per cent.19 Although women in urban Tanzania make up more than 50 per cent of the working age population, they play a relatively insignificant part in the formal labour market. Only 21.4 per cent of women are employed in formal sector employment as compared to 88 per cent of the men. Urban migration does not necessarily lead to women's industrial employment.

4. The Education Factor

Access to formal and informal education exhibits structural inequalities with boys having greater access than girls. This pattern constitutes the largest factor in explaining the low levels of participation of women in industrial employment. For example, girls constituted 49.8 of the total number of student enrolled in Class I in 1981. However the proportion was much smaller in the 'seventies and even less significant in the 'sixties. The increase in girls enrolment was in response to the Government's Universal Primary School Education policy, which among other things required all parents to send their children to school.20

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17 Zakia Meghji, The Development of Women in Wage Labour, The Case of Industries in Moshi District, unpublished MA thesis, University of Dar es Salaam (1977).

18 Deborah Fahy Bryceson, "The Proletarianisation of Women in Tanzania", Paper No. 2 NW 1979.

19 N. Shields, Women in the Urban Labour Markets of Africa: The Case of Tanzania (Washington: World Bank, 1980).

20 Ministry of National Education, 1981.

Table 37

Form I and V Enrolment in Tanzania Mainland Secondary Schools, 1961 - 1981

FORM I					FORM V			
(1) Year	(2) Boys	(3) Girls	(4) Total	(3) as a Percentage of (4)	(1) Boys	(2) Girls	(3) Total	(2) as a Percentage of (4)
1961	2967	1227	4194	29.3	211	25	236	10.6
1962	3530	1280	4810	26.6	231	55	286	19.2
1963	3558	1414	4972	28.4	397	100	497	20.1
1964	4062	1240	5302	23.3	519	97	616	15.7
1965	4311	1631	5942	27.4	659	121	780	15.5
1966	4710	1667	6377	26.1	685	141	823	17.1
1967	4857	1778	6635	26.8	742	153	896	17.
1968	5127	1862	6989	26.6	989	225	1214	18.5
1969	5190	1959	7149	27.4	1179	232	1411	16.4
1970	5305	2969	7374	28.1	1284	242	1506	16
1971	5554	2069	7570	27.3	1354	254	1608	15.7
1972	5889	1858	7747	24.0	1464	241	1705	14.1
1973	5884	2049	7933	25.9	1543	265	1808	14.6
1974	5895	2368	8263	28.7	1616	272	1888	14.4
1975	6220	2366	8586	27.6	1609	256	1965	13.7
1976	5838	2877	8715	33.0	1582	301	1883	15.9
1977	5861	2847	8808	32.3	1616	324	1940	16.7
1978	7603	3157	10760	29.3	1730	442	2172	23.0
1979	8093	3447	11540	29.8	1730	517	2247	23.0
1980	8093	4207	12300	29.8	1730	567	3297	24.6
1981	8093	4657	12750	36.5	1780	717	2497	28.7

Source: Third Five Year Plan, Vol.I.

The enrolment of girls has also lagged behind boys in secondary school. In fact, the rate of female student enrolment appears to be almost stagnant or rising very slowly (Table 37).

One reason for the lower female secondary school enrolments is that there are fewer secondary boarding schools for girls than for boys. This necessitates an expansion of girls' secondary schools as well as making the boys' boarding school coeducational. The Government has started moving into that direction. Another reason is that whereas parents in the rural areas are likely to invest in private day secondary school for boys, they are not likely to allow girls to live alone in town.21

In addition, an examination of what subject combinations are available to women in school will determine the sectors that women are being prepared to enter at the end of their school careers. A study of the subject combinations in diversified schools indicates that there is sex differentiation in subject specialisation at the secondary and post-secondary level. For example, the proportion of girls to boys is very insignificant in the technical, agriculture and commerce streams. Note, however, the preponderance of girls in home economics which is traditionally considered a women's subject (Table 38).

Table 38

Enrolment in Tanzanian Specialised Schools, 1981 and 1982

SUBJECT COMBINATION	YEAR	BOYS	GIRLS	TOTAL	PERCENTAGE GIRLS
Agriculture	1981	12,071	2879	14,950	19.3
	1982	12,203	3281	15,484	21.2
Commerce	1981	5318	4353	9671	45.0
	1982	6886	4964	10,850	45.0
Technical	1981	3133	704	3837	18.3
	1982	2086	695	3781	18.4
Home Economics	1981	-	1659	1659	100.0
	1982	-	1535	1535	100.0

Furthermore, not only are there more secondary schools for boys, but there are more secondary schools with a scientific and technical bias for boys than for girls. For example, 11 boys' schools and 3 girls' schools have a science combination of physics, mathematics and chemistry.22 Moreover, there are no technical secondary schools for girls in Tanzania. Girls were introduced into technical schools when

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21 O. Mascarenhas and M. Mbilinyi, *Women in Tanzania: An Analytical Bibliography* (Uppsala: Scandinavian Institute of African Studies, 1983), p. 155.

22 Asseny Muro, "Education and Training of Women for Employment: The case of Mainland Tanzania." Paper presented at Highlevel Workshop on Development and Participation of Women held at the East and Southern Africa Management Institute (Arusha, 1982).

Ifunda and Moshi technical schools were made coeducational in 1979. Female students of these schools are mostly enrolled in electrical engineering courses.

At university level, girls' chances are limited by the type of education which they have previously acquired. Admission at university level into the Engineering Faculty requires a physics, chemistry, maths combination at the high school level; for hydrology - mathematics, chemistry, geography and physics combination; forestry requires chemistry, biology and mathematics combination. Yet, these are the combinations to which girls have limited access at secondary school. In 1978-1979 slighty more than 15 per cent of the 690 first year undergraduates of the University of Dar es Salaam were women. Of these 126 women, approximately 17 per cent studied science; 11.6 per cent read agriculture and 3 per cent studied engineering.

Due to the low participation of women at the undergraduate level, the enrolment of women in post graduate programmes tends to be even lower. In 1977, for example, the total number of graduate enrolment was 83 students. Of these, only 7 were women.

Women in Tanzania also lag behind in the acquisition of vocational skills through nonformal education programmes. Out of 12,261 students of training programmes run by independent institutions and Government in 1975, only 31.9 per cent were girls.[23] Of the 38 institution providing vocational training, 17 were for males only; 16 were coeducational and only five were for females. Subject specialization was also lopsided. Females were only found in areas traditionally considered to be suitable for women such as domestic science, tailoring, weaving, and clerical work.

The limited educational preparation of women in Tanzania is a factor explaining their low participation in employment. Although the imbalances in the ratio between boys and girls are being corrected, the access of girls to secondary school education is still very low compared to that of the boys. Girls are also affected by a high dropout rate because of pregnancies. Chances offered to women are often fewer than those offered to boys. There are fewer girls' secondary and technical schools and even fewer places for them in vocational schools. Moreover, subject combinations for girls tend to favour arts subjects that prepare girls for traditional household duties and employment in the services sector.

D. ATTITUDINAL FACTORS

Traditional African attitudes have adversely affected women's access to education and work. Parental attitudes have been negative towards the education of girls because they are expected to get married and the benefits of education would accrue to a different family. Parents also keep girls at home for household duties.24

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[23] Christian Council of Tanzania, *Rural Vocational Education in Tanzania* (Dar es Salaam, 1976).

Employers tend to favour employment of men to avoid the cost of social benefits such as maternity leave that accrue to women workers. Though discrimination against women in Tanzania is difficult to prove, it is clear that covert discrimination takes place.

For example, it was the policy of management at Friendship Textile Mill to employ fewer women because women workers were considered to be less reliable. Using statistics on labour turnover at the mill, Parin showed that this attitude was based on prejudice rather than fact.25 Employers find it difficult to appoint women to senior positions even if there are women with such skills. Even in companies where the majority are women, the supervisor will invariably be a man.26 The attitude of the employer is critical and determines whether women will be employed and at what level. In most cases, employers' attitudes have been the reason why women have not benefited from on-the-job training.

In addition, because of the process of socialisation, women tend not to be aggressive enough in pursuing their careers. Starting from the time they are young, women fail to establish what they want to do in life. For many women, marriage and the expectation of being taken care of by a husband or a "sugar daddy" are their primary considerations.27

E. LACK OF SOCIAL SERVICES AND FACILITIES

The unavailability of child care, clinics, shopping centres, laundries and other time-saving institutions also affects the degree of involvement of women in industrial employment. While it is the responsibility of women to look after sick children and spouses, men generally do not feel such an obligation either towards their children or their wives.

In Tanzania, lack of services and facilities are related to the

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24 M. Mbilinyi, The decision to educate in rural Tanzania, University of Dar es Salaam, unpublished Ph.D dissertation and The Education of Girls in Tanzania: A study of Attitudes of Tanzanian Girls and their Fathers Towards Education (Institute of Education, Dar es Salaam).

25 Virji Parin, "Summary of Labour Turnover at Friendship Textile Mill with Specific Reference to Women Workers", (Paper No. 3) B.W.

26 M.H. Mgaya, A Study of Workers in a Factory, Unpublished M.A. Dissertation, University of Dar es Salaam. 1976.

27 M. Mbilinyi, "Where do we go from here"? Kenya Education Review, 2 (2) : 69-78.

absence of a clear policy for the orderly development of this sector.[28] There are many agencies running day care centres, but most of them are not officially registered. The problem has been compounded by a lack of play and teaching materials. Qualified day care attendants are also attendants are scarce.

Notwithstanding these problems, by 1980 there were 2,996 day care centres in the country catering for 213,243 children. Their management was in the hands of nongovernmental organizations such as the Catholic Church, the Young Men's Christian Association, the Tanzania Parents Association, mass organizations such as Umoja wa Wanawake wa Tanzania (Tanzanian women's Union), Government departments and public corporations. The number of children who would potentially utilize these centres is far greater than the available places.

The Double Burden

For most women in industrial employment, work that is unpaid in the home constitutes an extension of the working day, taking from four to eight hours after eight hours of paid employment. Employers complain of women's absenteeism, high rate of turnover, lower productivity and lack of interest which they characterise collectively as lack of commitment. Rarely do they recognise that successful performance or lack of it on part of the women may be a consequence of their ability to deal with conflict situations both at work and at home.

F. DEVELOPING TENDENCIES IN WOMEN'S INDUSTRIAL LABOUR FORCE PARTICIPATION

Discussions about the low participation rate of Tanzanian women in industrialisation need to be approached with caution. In actual fact, the low rate of participation of women in some sectors could be erroneous, based on false assumptions of what constitutes "economic activities". For example, in the population censuses and the National Demographic Survey of 1972 the majority of the women were classified as "unoccupied". Among this category, there were 3,477,048 women, 53.1 per cent of the category, and 38.9 per cent of all women in the 1978 Census.[29] The classification of nearly two-fifths of all women as "unoccupied" is a doubtful proposition. Although women take part in all economic activities, their participation rates in certain sectors are very low. The major occupations including women are cultivating, livestock rearing and student. However when the figures of women in these occupations are taken as a part of the total women population, human resource utilisation of women is very low indeed (Table 39).

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[28] International Labour Office, Jobs and Skills Programme for Africa, *Basic Needs in Danger: Tanzania*, Chapter 13.

[29] Bureau of Statistics, *1978 Population Census Volume IV A Summary of Selected Statistics* (Dar es Salaam 1982).

Table 39

Occupational Distribution of Tanzanian Women

OCCUPATION	NO. OF FEMALES	AS A PERCENTAGE OF ALL WOMEN
Cultivators	3,631,669	40.6
Livestock rearing	22,263	0.2
Fishermen/Hunters	7,544	0.08
Mixed agriculture	159,115	1.8
Agricultural labourers	20,256	0.23
Craftsmen/machine operators	9,004	0.1
Sales/clerical officers	39,218	0.4
Professional/Technical	46,057	0.5
Managers/Administrators	971	0.0
Nonagricultural labourers	21,063	0.2
Other Workers	79,268	0.8
Student	1,407,413	15.7
Other unoccupied	3,477,048	39.0
Not elsewhere specified	4,638	0.05

__Source__: Calculated from 1978 Census Figures.

Over 40 per cent of all women are cultivators. If females under the "other unoccupied" category are included among the cultivators, then the percentage in that category increases from 40.6 to about 80 per cent. The participation of women in other occupations is negligible. The proportion of women in such categories as craftsmen/machine operators; sales and clerical officers; professional/technical; managers and administrators is less than one per cent (Table 39).

A similar phenomenon is apparent in industry. Not only do women exhibit low participation rates in the informal sector, but there is also a tendency for the majority of women to be found in certain industries and occupations. Women in industrial employment were only 8.8 per cent of all employees in 1973. This figure rose to 15.6 per cent by 1980.

The areas of concentration of women employment are finance, services, commerce and manufacturing. In manufacturing, women's participation is low but increasing. Women represent 12 per cent of all people employed in manufacturing. The Government owns most of the institutions where women work such as the service industry, finance, commerce and a significant proportion of manufacturing. Women tend to be found in unskilled jobs or jobs related to domestic activities. They also comprise the majority of those employed on temporary terms. Women are relegated to the lowest paying jobs with limited access to on-the-job training necessary to move from unskilled or semi-skilled work to skilled work.30 Numerous Tanzanian women are found in the following occupations: teaching, nursing, clerical, sales, hotel waitresses and in the administrative categories. These types of occupations are traditional female occupations worldwide.

A further characteristic of women's industrial labour force participation is the paucity of woman in executive, professional and managerial positions.31 No women are chairman, managing directors or general managers of Government parastatals.

By 1980, according to the Manpower Survey, women in high and middle level positions constituted 20.1 per cent of all employees in those categories. However, their occupational distribution was very uneven (Table 40).

Women predominated in those jobs generally regarded as female occupations such as nursing/midwifery; teaching and clerical and related workers. Note, however, the paucity of women in such occupations as architects, engineers and related technicians. Out of 1506 managers only 46 were women.

G. WOMEN IN THE INFORMAL SECTOR

For most women in the urban areas, the informal sector provides the major means of livelihood. Entry into the informal sector requires no educational qualifications. Whereas 65.7 per cent of all women in the informal sector have no formal education, only 21.3 per cent of the women employed in the formal sector have no schooling.32

The informal sector may be divided into two categories, the high income informal sector and the low income informal sector. Women in the high income sector are normally wives of high income men or men occupying prestigious positions in industrial or government institutions. Such women are in a position to secure the capital required to begin a medium scale enterprise like raising chickens, operating bars, tailoring or tie and die units or raising pigs. On the other hand, the low income informal sector is comprised of women engaged in activities such as selling cooked food, brewing beer and providing personal services.

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30 N.A. Mihyo, "The Involvement of Women in Small Scale Industries: (Case Study of Dar es Salaam City)", Paper presented at the Institute of Development Studies Seminar.

31 Laeticia Mukurasi, "Factors hindering the participation of Women in decision making at Senior Levels in the Civil Service and Parastatal Organisations," Paper presented at the Annual Manpower Manager's Symposium, 1984.

32 M.A. Biemsfield and R.H. Sabot, *The National Urban Mobility, Employment and Income Survey of Tanzania, Volume III* (University of Dar es Salaam, 1972).

Table 40

High and Middle Level Employment by Sex in Tanzania, 1980

POST	MALES	FEMALES
Physical Scientist and Related Technicians	351	118
Architects, Engineers and Related Technicians	563	34
Aircraft, and Ship's Officers	69	1
Life Scientists and Related Technicians	1,985	270
Medical, Dental, Veterinary and Related Workers	1,784	153
Statisticians, Mathematicians, Analysts and Related Workers	100	12
Economists	501	51
Accountants	1,817	161
Jurists	92	12
Teachers	10,875	3,986
Workers in Religion	2	1
Authors, Journalists and related Workers	160	24
Sculptors, Painters, Photographers and other Artists	400	15
Composers and performing artists	39	16
Professional, technical and related workers	24,885	669
Legislative officials and Government Administrators	124	6
Managers	1,460	46
Administrative and Managerial Workers	1,584	52
Clerical and Related Workers	6,670	3,007
Sales Workers	572	91
Service Workers	505	111
Agricultural, forestry, animal husb. fishermen, hunters	370	33
Production and related workers, transport and equipment operators, labourers	6,666	44
TOTAL	40,594	10,540
PER CENT	77.5	20.1

Major informal sector occupations for women are street trading, shopkeeping, craft manufacture, house renting, cultivation and hotel/bar work (see Table 41). Few women are in activities that require capital such as transport or those that require both training and capital, such as construction. The only women in the contractor category are those who have been given permission to supply cooked food to Government and parastatal institutions.33

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33 N. Shields, Women in Urban Labour Markets, p.52.

Table 41

Income Earners in the Informal Labour Market
By Sex and Occupation, Urban Tanzania

Occupation	Male	Female	Total	Total Percent Female
Service Subsector				
Transport	11.5	13.0	12.0	37.2
Porter	3.3	0.2	2.2	2.9
Street Trading	26.0	26.0	26.0	34.3
Shop Keeper	13.9	7.5	11.7	21.9
Hotel/Bar	3.1	5.4	3.9	47.5
House Rental	8.7	10.7	9.3	38.3
Goods Producing Sub-Sector				
Craft Manufacture	11.5	13.0	12.0	37.2
Contractor	8.7	0.2	6.2	1.2
Shamba	17.8	34.4	23.5	50.3
Fishing	2.7	0.0	1.8	0.0
Other	1.5	3.1	2.0	51.6
Total No. of Cases	(1001)	(523)	(1524)	

Source: NUMEISI, 1972

In conclusion, tendencies in the women's labour force participation show that women are disadvantaged in terms of both industrial and occupational distribution. Women tend to concentrate in the services, commercial and finance sectors but not in manufacturing, water and electricity and transport. Even in areas where women are concentrated, they are at the lower echelons of occupations; few of them are found in positions of power. Few women have the capital, skills and the facilities necessary to make their informal sector participation meaningful.

Part Two: MICRO LEVEL ISSUES

A. CONSEQUENCES OF INDUSTRIAL OWNERSHIP PARTNERS ON WOMEN

Ownership patterns in Tanzania fall largely into two categories: public and privately owned institutions. Legislation for the protection of women applies regardless of women's place of employment. In order to determine what differences exist as a consequence of the nature and control of industrial ownership, five public and three private companies in Arusha were investigated.

Public	Private
Fibreboards Africa Limited	Sunflag Tanzania Ltd.
General Tyre (EA) Limited	Kilima Bottlers Co. Ltd.
Kilimanjaro Textiles Corp.	Tanzania Food Corporation
Tanzania Meerschaum Co.	
Tanzania Wildlife Corporation.	

1. Number of Women Employed

There were more women in public enterprises than in privately owned enterprises. Several reasons explain this pattern. Whereas the deployment of high and middle level manpower was allocated to the public institution by the High and Middle Manpower Allocation Committee of the Ministry of Labour and Manpower Development, the private sector depended on individual company's recruitment drives. This was done through advertising in the newspaper or by poaching from public institutions. Both public and private employers hold certain reservations about employing women. However, public enterprises employers must accept high and middle personnel allocated to the enterprise by the Ministry of Labour which does not consider gender preferences. Private employers, however, have complete freedom in choosing employees and most expressed the opinion that they preferred men to women. In addition to their reservations about the cost of social benefits and the possibility of declining productivity resulting from role conflicts, employers held stereotypes about what kind of work was suitable for women.

The number of women workers in the textile industry was significant. However, while women were permanent employees in the public enterprises, they comprised the majority of casual employees in the private companies.

2. Women's Work Assignments

There were no discernible differences in the type of assignments given to women. Most women were found in the following occupations and departments:

Office cleaners
Typists
Clerks
Cooks and dishwashers
Product graders
Spinners
Packers
Pipemakers

These were low status jobs which required little training. Women occupying these jobs had little chance of upward mobility or further training. The only differences observed between public and private enterprises in this regard was the relatively high incidence of women in responsible positions in public enterprises, and their complete absence in private companies. Women in public enterprises were heads of personnel, accounts and marketing departments.

3. Control Mechanisms

The Standing Committee on Parastatal Organisations which regulates the terms and conditions of service for employees in the parastatals has been instrumental in correcting the imbalances between male and female employment rights and benefits. Previously a woman could not be housed in her own right especially if she were married; now housing is provided by employers to all eligible employees, regardless of marital status. Men and women both receive medical care and transport allowances. In the private sector, the employer alone determines worker salaries and fringe benefits. Private employers expect married women to be housed by their husbands even when they are eligible for housing.

4. Training Programmes

With the exception of on-the-job training, public and private employers do not seriously consider increasing the level of skills or diversifying the type of skills of their female employees unless these skills are required to increase their productivity in traditional female occupations. Employers make the following assumptions which have been responsible for fewer training opportunities for women:

a. That the husband will object, in case of a married woman. Rarely do employers take trouble to consult the woman concerned, to find out the actual situation in her home, nor do women volunteer such information since they are frequently not serious about pursuing their career interests.

b. That the woman will move with her husband if he is transferred. Rarely do employers consider that due to economic and family circumstances (e.g. inflation, schooling) a woman and her husband might decide to live in two separate locations.

c. That if she is unmarried, that she will marry and move away. Whereas such a possibility exists, employers are not aware of recognize the increasing number of female headed households especially in the urban areas.

5. Attitude of Employers

Generally, public sector employers hold more favourable opinions about women workers. This is no doubt a consequence of their being exposed to women at all levels of employment. In holding on to traditional views on women's abilities private sector employers have deprived themselves of the meaningful experience of knowing the potential and actual abilities of women. Public sector employers expressed the following opinions on female employees:

(1) Women are more trustworthy as accountants or cashiers.

(2) Women managers are more impartial, have a cooler, more balanced approach to problem solving.

(3) Women are capable administrators and managers.

(4) Women are meticulous, scrupulous and pay attention to the details of their work.

B. WOMEN AS INDUSTRIAL ENTREPRENEURS AND MANAGERS

1. Women entrepreneurs

Women industrial entrepreneurs do not exist in significant numbers. Exclusively female owned enterprises are largely absent except for co-operatives. A very small proportion of women, however, do take part in informal sector production activities. However, they are predominantly owned by men. Out of a total of 302 small scale industries, only two were owned by women (see Table 42).

Table 42

Survey of Small Scale Industry Ownership in Arusha

CATEGORY	MALED OWNED ESTABLISH-MENTS	FEMALE OWNED ESTABLISH-MENTS
Timber Work	61	0
Agricultural processing	12	0
Cosmetics	1	0
Tourist articles	12	0
Capital Goods or machinery	12	0
Other Consumer goods	189	2
Construction	10	0
Mining	5	0

Source: Small Industry Development Organization, 1983.

Ownership of small scale enterprises requires capital, time and skills. The amount of capital investment involved depends on the type of activity being carried out. In some cases, the machinery has to be imported. On the financial side, borrowing from the banks is the main mode of getting working capital. But this depends on the ability of the borrower to meet the conditions of the lender. Success in business requires that enough time is devoted to the business in terms of meeting the clients, supplies of raw materials, and marketing products. Finally, the owner must possess the relevant skills for the activities to be carried out.

According to officials of the Small Industry Development Organisation (SIDO), the main reason why there are very few female entrepreneurs is that women lack capital with which to start large businesses.[34] Initial capital is normally secured from a woman's husband. Most women who are owners of small enterprises are wives of men with high incomes. The conditions for bank loans are difficult for women to meet. Bankers usually insist that collateral, which few women have, must be given before a loan can be granted. Few women can write the necessary feasibility study detailing the type of activity they want to carry on. Women also lack the necessary tangible security. Inheritance laws have deprived women of many rights including property rights and land rights. Even though under the current Villagisation Act and Marriage Act women can acquire, own and dispose of land and property, few women know of this right. Even if they did few married women would utilise it for fear of conflicts between themselves and their husband.

In addition, it was noted that many women-owned business fail because of women's multiple burdens. The Singisi Pottery and Ceramics Factory in Arusha Region can be cited as a case in point. This project for women launched in 1975 was to engage in pottery and ceramics production. Machinery and equipment were provided by the Danish International Development Agency. After three years, all the women had left the project which is now being run by men. The female originators of the project admitted that they had been overburdened with conflicting demands made on their time both at home and at work.

The other reason that has been cited for women's low success in business is the intermittent nature of their devotion to small scale industrial activities. Women who own small businesses generally are also wage earners. Women entrepreneurs say that it is necessary to do both jobs because their wage from formal employment is insufficient to meet daily needs. Yet, they are not ready to relinquish their formal sector employment because of the uncertainties experienced in informal sector business.

Moreover, women's activities are largely dependent on their husbands' attitudes and location. For example, a woman may be required to move with a husband on transfer and be forced to close her business.

Some efforts have been made to incorporate women into co-operatives, but female memberships in co-operatives is still very small. Several reasons have been identified for this.[35] Since the early co-operative societies were agricultural marketing societies, notwithstanding the contribution the women made to production, the income accruing from their sales tended to be appropriated by male members of the household. Secondly, to be a member of a marketing society one was expected to own land in his own right, necessitated no doubt by the requirement of providing security for loans. Since most women in Tanzania do not own land in their own right, they are largely excluded from membership. Additionally, in the rural areas, women lack the time to engage in co-operative ventures because they have to spend long hours fetching water and firewood from far distances. In the urban centres, differences in tribal and educational backgrounds have affected the degree of cohesiveness of women's co-operative ventures.[36]

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[34] SIDO Estate Manager and the Small Scale Industries' Promotion Officer in Arusha.

[35] International Co-operative Alliance Regional Office for East and Central Africa, Report on the Evaluation of the ICA Women Co-operative Education and other Activities Project Moshi ICA. (1980); S. Naali, "Legal Provisions for Women Participation in Co-operatives," Paper No. 15 BW (1970).

2. Women managers

Women managers in Tanzania constitute a very small minority.[37] This does not, however, arise from women's lack of professional skills or experience. According to one survey, women in the high and middle level positions constitute 20.1 per cent of all employees in the wage employment sector. But on close scrutiny, these women are not in top decision making positions.[38] They generally exercise only advisory and administrative functions and do not hold executive power. For example, there are no women heads of institutions. The few women who are in managerial positions reside in the shadow of power in such positions as personnel and marketing managers, directors of corporate departments, chief accountants and financial controllers. Finally, there a few women engineers who are heads of department.

By far, the greatest factor working against women is stereotyping. Employers hold certain negative assumptions about women's ability and potential in managerial positions. These assumptions are largely based on myth and are deeply rooted in socio-cultural values.

Male held negative assumptions about women ability and potential can be grouped into four broad areas:

- Women are less intelligent than men.
- Women are emotionally unstable and, therefore, unfit to be in managerial positions where they have sometimes forced to make hard and cruel decisions.

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[36] S.T. Sijaoha, "Women's Projects in Urban Areas", Dar es Salaam City Paper No. 10 BW.

[37] This section is based on the author's earlier research on "Factors Hindering the Participation of Women in Decision Making at Senior Level in the Civil Service and Parastatal Organizations". Paper presented at Manpower Managers Symposium, Arusha 1984.

[38] Elizabeth Kawambwa, "Women's Participation in the Labour Force and Economic Development". Paper presented during Workshop on Manpower Policy in Tanzania.

- Women are not motivated by the need for self actualisation. They do not value achievement, promotion or meaningful work.

- For one to be successful in a managerial positions, one has to possess masculine attributes such as aggressiveness, ambition, firmness, competitiveness and drive.

In order to appreciate whether such assumptions are based on myth or not, it is useful to consider a few case studies of Tanzanian working women's experiences. Although it was not possible to establish beyond reasonable doubt that the interviewees were right in thinking that what happened to them was the result of their being female, this is what they *perceived* as being the major problem.

3. Cases in point

Case A

Company XBZ put up an advertisement in the papers seeking a graduate in marketing with five years experience. The employer did not indicate any sex preference. A number of applicants, both men and women, replied to the ad. Women were not shortlisted though some possessed desired qualifications on grounds that their being married might present a problem.

Case B

The panel board consists of five men. A woman candidate has appeared. In giving information about her background, she states that she holds a Master's Degree in Human Resources Management and has been with the personnel department for eight years.

First question, from a member of the interviewing panel, "Can you really dismiss an employee"?

Second question, "Do you cry afterwards over your decision to dismiss an employee"?

Case C

Shubi has been with the company for ten years. She holds a Master's Degree in Economics. Her performance has been rated excellent. In the last three years, she has seen three younger male graduates overtake her by getting promoted and moving out of the company. One day she approaches her boss for a discussion on why she is being passed over for promotion. Her general manager's answer is that her being promoted would mean a transfer. Shubi insists that is an issue that is best left to her and her husband to decide. Three months later her husband who has been attached to a university abroad writes to her that her moving would not be a problem since he is rarely at home anyway. Home is where she will be; he wishes her the best in case she is promoted.

Best copy available

Case_D

Karungi, aged twenty eight, is a chief accountant of the corporation. She has a CPA qualification. A client comes in the office to claim payment at the end of a contract. Since the main cashier is out of office, she gets hold of the cheque book, writes out the amount, signs the cheque and tells the messenger to get the signature of the general manager. The sum involved is seven hundred seventy six thousand shillings. When the cheque is brought back she gets the dispatch book, records the particulars of the cheque and passes it on to the client to acknowledge receipt. On receiving the cheque the client takes out a twenty shilling note and gives it to her, telling her to go out and have some tea!

Case_E

The chief accountant and the financial accountant have been working very hard since morning preparing papers for the annual general meeting. At three they were almost half way finished. The chief then came around the table side of the financial accountant, put a caressing hand on her lap and said, "Say, why don't we collect a few groceries from Kariakoo, go over to your place for a snack and finish this work out there".

Case_F

Audaxia graduated a year before her husband and consequently started working earlier. Both were graduates in zoology with upper second honours degrees. They work in the same institution. One scholarship has come, and both have applied. She is rejected on grounds that it would result in her gaining higher qualifications than those of her husband!

Case_G

Cecilia is a corporation secretary with Company TLX. The board has taken a recess, and members have expressed the need for some refreshment. Since they are in a remote area someone will have to go to town for refreshments. The general manager takes out money and calls Cecilia. He says "Here, my dear, go and buy us some double colas and a few bites".

These cases are meant to illustrate the experiences of women in many organisations. An analysis of their content can be made under the following industrial relations and personnel management concepts.

a. The_Selection_and_Recruitment_Process

In selecting prospective candidates for senior posts, women are not given the same opportunities as men. Being a female, married or unmarried, is a disadvantage. Stereotyping tends to distort perceptions of male and female performance and potential, with the consequence that top positions go to men. If a woman is not shortlisted, then the employer is in no position to assess realistically what her performance on the job would have been. Sometimes women are shortlisted to appear for interviews only to satisfy the curiosity of those on the panel.

At the interview, the selection panel invariably consists of men. It sometimes happens that the desired candidate has already been identified and the process of interviewing is a mere facade. A female candidate's case is thus decided long before the interview takes place. The panel will then proceed to ask her unprofessional questions or questions totally unrelated to the advertised position. Research has shown that there is vast difference between the way a woman is interviewed and considered for a responsible position and the treatment a man receives.

b. Work assignments

The positions that most women hold have a bearing on what type of senior positions that they can be appointed to. It is clear that most jobs that women hold do not lead to their being appointed to managerial positions.

Generally, the employment of women has revealed the following characteristics:

(1) Women are assigned to jobs that conform to popular sex role stereotypes for example as cleaners, typists, clerks, secretaries, nursing/midwifery and assistant jobs.

(2) They are generally employed in jobs requiring little or no skills.

(3) Duties assigned are of a temporary nature and they are laid off whenever new methods and machines are introduced to increase efficiency.

(4) Those in the middle and senior levels are appointed to dead end jobs or jobs with limited opportunities for advancement.

(5) Most are appointed to jobs that are not commensurate with their abilities.

Moreover, the positions which most women hold do not permit them to appear at meetings, conferences, or seminars. Such exposure is very important as a training ground or a means of making contacts with superiors/peers who are important to one's career.

A woman is rarely given an acting appointment with its attendant responsibilities, even though she might be qualified and the most senior member next to the substantive job holder. Women are also normally left out when it comes to travelling duty. If she is married employers just assume that since she is a woman she will not travel.

Furthermore, it has been observed that even in companies where there is a preponderance of women such as the Kilimanjaro Textile

Corporation and Sunflag Tanzania Limited, the supervisors are predominantly male.

c. Training/Promotions

Training is important for job performance and career mobility. Available evidence shows that women during their employment are not given the same career development considerations. They are channelled into courses that serve to keep them in low skill jobs or female enclaves.

d. The Informal Group/Mentorism

An informal organisation has been defined as a network of people who exchange information in informal gatherings on their beliefs and aspirations. In such a gathering, they share survival strategies within the organizations and pass on timely information which is critical for their success.

The informal group facilitates:

(a) Those who are pursuing their work goals to get in contact with those who will help them achieve their aims.

(b) Direction of communication towards people who are critical for security and those who gratify the need for reinforcement.

(c) Increase in one's status, by belonging to a more prestigious group, obtaining power to influence decision and expanding one's authority.39

Women do not seem to benefit from informal interaction. They feel constrained not only in terms of time but also in terms of people involved. Informal groups are primarily all male groups. Not only do men prefer to create a social distance between themselves and women; women also practice self-exclusion. Consequently a structural barrier is created that prevents women from participating fully in the organisation. This affects their upward mobility because they do not receive the right information at the right time and they do not come into contact with those that are structurally significant in their careers.

Similarly, it difficult for a Tanzanian woman to get an organizational mentor, that is a superior in a position to influence her career in the organisation. Since mentors are generally men, if a woman actively seeks one, a sexual connotation might be inferred by others, including the mentor himself.

e. Lack of Working Culture/Sexual Harassment

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39 Sandy Albrecht: "Informal Interaction Patterns of Professional Women" in Bette Ann Stead, Women in Management (New York: 1978).

Some men in senior positions make unwelcome sexual advances such as making inappropriate comments, innuendos and propositions as a condition for hiring, job security or promotion.

f. Lack of Facilities/Problem of Overload

This is a problem arising from the traditional domestic sexual division of labour rather than a problem of organizational life as such. Traditional attitudes about what constitutes men's work and women's work continue to persist. Men and women put in the same number of hours in formal sector employment but at the end of the day, a woman returns home to household work, while her male colleagues go out "with the boys" and to other kinds of informal interactions. Thus women suffer conflicts between performance and behavioral demands at home and at work resulting in stress not experienced by men.

g. Factors Inherent in Women Themselves

As a consequence of their social conditioning, Tanzanian women do not actively seek positions of power. Unaware of the differences between individuals, parents bring up their children in accordance with popular sex role stereotypes. Women are taught to be passive, dependent, and submissive. The educational system reinforces this parochial conception of a woman's role, and for the majority of women, training does not equip them to enter the business or professional world at a meaningful level. As a consequence of social conditioning and parochial education, some Tanzanian women develop a negative attitude on their own self worth; they tend to undervalue themselves and adjust their own goals in accordance with the lower estimation of their own abilities. In organisational life some women assume a docile pose. They do not actively seek to increase their abilities or status; they do not plan career strategies for their own advancement.

Finally, women do not support each other in the sense of pulling together as a team. Some women who have made it to the top adopt what has been termed a "queen bee syndrome". This is defined as the type of woman who likes to be the lone female in a male world. Her attitude is that if she has made it, why can't other women. Conversely, other woman in the lower echelons of the organisation are unwilling to support women in positions of authority. They resent such women because they are proof that they too could have made it.

C. WOMEN'S TRADE UNION ACTIVITIES

There is only one workers' union in Tanzania, the Jumuia ya Wafanyakazi Tanzania (JUWATA), which has regional, district and local branches at every place of work. Only one of the offices of the Union at national level is headed by a woman - the workers' education department.

Active participation of women in the Workers' Union has generally been minimal for the following reasons:

(1) Historically, women had a late start in industrial employment and did not participate in the early efforts of unionisation.

(2) Legislation has insured the same rights, benefits and privileges for both men and women thus pre-empting the need for an exclusive women's union to fight for these rights.

(3) Women are reluctant or unable to participate actively in trade unions as a result of their domestic responsibilities.

According to one senior union official, the establishment of a separate wing within the Union to deal with women's affairs was considered but rejected as inappropriate. Union leaders questioned the purpose of the wing since women were not discriminated against in terms of job opportunities and conditions of service.

If created, however, a women's wing could focus attention on such issues as:

- The high unemployment rate of women and the limited number of employment opportunities open to women.

- Women's labour related interests such as child care centres, dispensaries and transport facilities for breast feeding mothers.

- Upgrading of women's industrial skills through various training programmes.

- Paucity of women in decision making position in the union.

- Design of policies aimed at increasing the participation of women in formal industrial employment.

At the enterprise level, too, women's participation in union activities shows the same low trend. For example, a survey of six Arusha companies revealed that women do not participate significantly in union activities as evidenced by the composition of JUWATA company councils:

Table 43

Gender Composition of JUWATA Company Councils

Company	Males	Females
Fibreboards Africa Ltd.	13	2
Tanzania Meerschaum Co.	5	1
General Tyre (E.A.) Ltd.	20	1
Sunflag Tanzania Ltd.	10	1
Kilimanjaro Textile Corp.	18	2
Kilima Bottlers	6	1

Women are not involved in local union leadership roles because they lack confidence, due to their low level of education, in their leadership abilities. In addition, male union members harbour certain negative assumptions about women's leadership capabilities and do not support female candidates for union office.

D. WOMEN AND KEY INDUSTRIES IDENTIFIED FOR PRIORITY ACTION BY THE INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT DECADE FOR AFRICA PROGRAMME

1. Agro-Industries (especially food processing)

The most important agro-based industries are Government owned. The technology used tends to be sophisticated and capital intensive. These companies produce both for consumer use and for export. In recent years, however, production from these industries has declined.

Because of the production technology, the number of women in permanent employment is very low. Women in these industries comprise the greatest number of temporary employees (70-80 per cent) and engage in such activities as weeding, harvesting and picking. A survey of the positions occupied by women in one public milling company in Arusha shows, for example, that women who are in permanent employment are not found in positions of responsibility.

Positions such as sanitary work, clerical work, telephone operating, typing, canning and peeling are not good preparation grounds for assuming greater productive roles in industry or greater responsibilities. In addition, women have been replaced by machines when new techniques has been introduced to increase efficiency. A case in point is the introduction of capital intensive machinery at Kibo Match Corporation or the African Flower Industries in Moshi.

Because of the important role of agro-industries in meeting the basic needs of the population, the Government should look very closely into how it can increase the productivity of women because of their crucial participation in both food and cash crop production. The Government needs to look into producing the type of technologies which will not only increase the productivity of women but also make their tasks more manageable at home and at work. Fortunately, the Government is the sole owner of local institutions that may be instrumental in forging the type of technology that is environmentally appropriate and suitable to use by women.

In order to increase the participation of women in agro-industries, the Government will also need to pay special attention to the type of education provided for girls. Technical and science subjects hitherto male oriented must also be taught to girls.

2. Small Scale Industries

The participation of Tanzanian women in small scale industry is still very low, notwithstanding the Government's effort to promote small scale industries as a crucial element of the BIS. In 1973 the

Government created a parastatal under the Ministry of Industries known as the Small Industries Development Organisation (SIDO), whose functions include planning and promoting the establishment of small industries, advising the Government on all matters relating to the development of small industries, and providing technical assistance and training facilities for those employed in small industries. SIDO has also created a number of industrial estates.

The SIDO industrial estate at Arusha has no women entrepreneurs, perhaps for following reasons.

(i) Type of Industry

The type of industrial activities that are carried out within the estate require a certain type of educational background and technical skills that many women lack. For example, participation in ownership or employment in ferrous foundry, plumbing and fitting industries requires the candidate to have had a science bias at secondary and/or post secondary level.

(ii) Procedure for Selection of Entrepreneurs

Each region has a committee for selection of SIDO entrepreneurs. After the committee has decided on the type of industries, information for attracting the suitable entrepreneurs is provided through the mass media, specifying the location of the proposed industries as well as the assistance available from SIDO.

As in case of Arusha, the composition of this committee is all male, and little or no effort is made to see how women may be integrated in small scale industries development.

(iii) Criteria used for Selection of Entrepreneurs

The basis for selection is as follows:

(a) The entrepreneurs should be capable of raising funds or part of the funds required by the project.

(b) The entrepreneur should have a sound background, qualifications, experience and known motivation vis a vis the type of the project.

(c) The entrepreneur should have managerial ability in relation to the organisation.

According to SIDO officials, very few women can meet these stringent requirements for the following reasons:

(1) They cannot raise the necessary funds because of lack of collateral.

(2) They lack the necessary education and technical qualifications, skills and experience.

(3) Very few women have managerial ability.

(iv) Entrepreneurial Development Programmes

Unfortunately, there are no statistics compiled to show the sex breakdown of the SIDO training programmes. However, according to SIDO officials at Arusha, women are trained in various skills. To begin with they trained women in traditional skills such as tie and die, knitting, pottery making, weaving and basket making. Women's small scale activities, however, are not part of the Arusha SIDO Estate, but are dispersed throughout the Region.

(v) Marketing and Supplies

According to SIDO officials, women encounter the same problems that beset all people participating in small scale industries. These are lack of access to large and lucrative markets, poor quality and design, limited production capacity, lack of raw materials, lack of information about existing and potential markets and lack of foreign exchange.

Notwithstanding the difficulties that have so far beset women, SIDO officials cited cases of women who have become successful entrepreneurs of small scale industries. The ingredients for success in the case of a Mbeya woman producer of knitted garments were attributed as follows:

- Extreme determination to go ahead in spite of doubts by friends and family.

- Choice of business partners whose contribution enhanced progress of the business.

- A supportive spouse who was willing to ensure and facilitate her success although husband and wife had to stay in two separate locations.

- Ability to create a support network of both men and women.

- Willingness to take risks especially in the light of an uncertain industrial climate.

- Her experience as an administrator enabled her to adopt a managerial style that showed close concern for employees and, at the same time, insure that production was kept at its maximum.

3. Textiles

The textile industry employs a significant proportion of women and, in this aspect, is second to none in the manufacturing sector. In Sunflag Tanzania Limited, women constitute 40 per cent of the total labour force, 10 per cent at Kilimanjaro Textiles Mill and 30 per cent at Urafiki Textile Mill. However, a close examination of women's occupations reveals that women are in low status, lowly paid occupations. A significant proportion of women are found in garment manufacturing departments, weaving departments and quality control departments.

The textile industry occupies a significant place in Tanzania's economy. Its central position hinges on the importance both of satisfying the basic needs of the indigenous population as well as earning the country needed foreign exchange. Since the basic raw material, cotton, is produced and processed domestically, the textile industry holds great potential for employment of women. This, however, is dependent on the nation's capability to expand manufacturing capacity as well as to increase the level and capability of women in technical skills.

4. Forestry, Construction, Metallurgy and Mechanical Industries

Employment in these areas is generally male dominated. The participation of women so far has been limited to low level occupations, yet it is possible that there are activities which can be developed to encourage women's employment, especially in the area of small scale industrial production of goods such as pipes, forks and spoons.

Part Three: CONCLUSIONS

The present participation of Tanzanian women in the industrialisation process, albeit at low levels, has resulted from:

- Women's migration to urban areas, the centres of industrial activities.

- The need of women to participate in industrial employment arising from the need to supplement the family income, or to acquire the basic means of existence especially in the case of female headed households.

- Favourable terms and conditions of service of employment in industrial establishments, especially parastatal and government institutions.

- Expansion in the educational enrolment of girls.

- Tanzania's policy of socialism and its governing principles of equality regardless of sex, race and religion.

- The recognition afforded to women by the recent creation of a Ministry of State in the Prime Minister's Office which *inter alia* deals with the integration of women in national development.

The Community Development Department within the Ministry has been assigned this task. Among its major functions are the co-ordination of governmental and nongovernmental activities related to women, the evaluation of the contribution of women to various sectors of development, the investigation of women's problems, the development of remedial action plans and the mobilization of women in planning, implementing and funding projects.

- Government owned institutions have absorbed substantial numbers of women in industrial employment. Allocations of high and middle level personnel are made by the Ministry of Labour and Manpower Development. Allocations are made upon request by employers and are normally not based on sex.

- The recognition of The Union of Tanzanian Women, a non-governmental body which is affiliated to the main party, Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM). The main objectives of the UWT are to provide a forum for women to express their ideas and to organise and mobilize them towards their own development as well as that of the nation.

The role of women in national development, in general, and in industrialisation, in particular, will increase provided first and foremost the capacity for this integration is created at national level. Without increasing the industrial capacity, the same trend, whereby women have remained on the margins of industrialisation will continue. Obviously this calls for the participation of women and men sensitive, sympathetic and conscious of women's needs in the planning and decision making process. It also calls for the allocation of a certain proportion of the country's resources towards women's industrial activities. The support of financial, technical and advisory institutions for women's industrial activities is very critical.

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